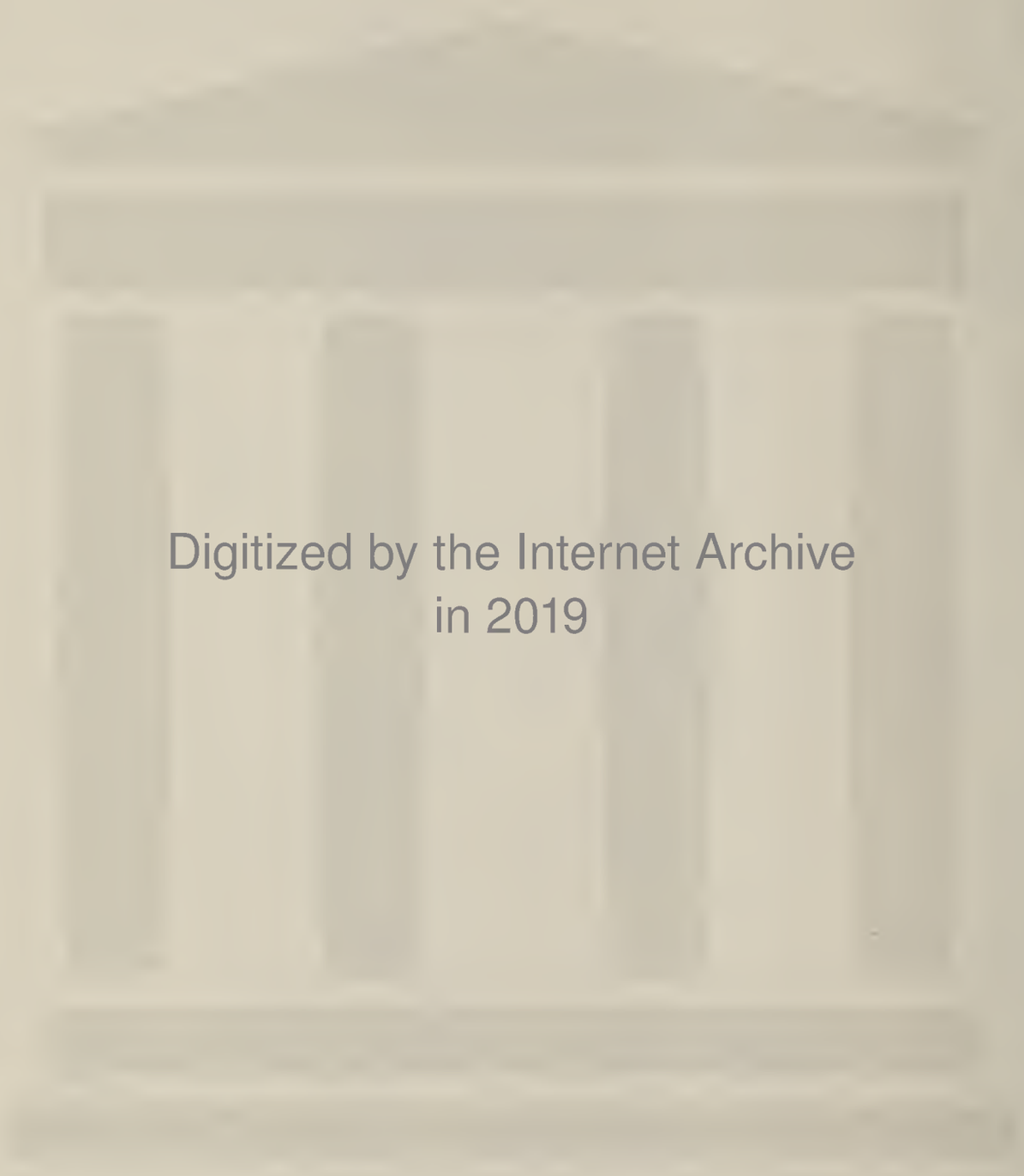
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A HISTORY

OF

LAKE CHAMPLAIN

W. C. L.

A RECORD OF

MORE THAN THREE CENTURIES

1609-1936

BY

WALTER HILL CROCKETT

McAuliffe Paper Co.
Burlington, Vt.
Publishers

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To

Rev. G. Glenn Atkins, D.D.

This History of Lake Champlain

is Dedicated

FOREWORD

CROCKETT'S "History of Lake Champlain" is an authoritative work covering a period of 300 years, from the discovery of the lake by Samuel de Champlain in 1609 to the Tercentenary Celebration in 1909.

The subject is fascinating and of deep historic interest. This body of water is one of the beauty spots of America and has been the scene of thrilling and decisive events in our national life, especially of the Revolutionary period and the war of 1812. For a hundred years the lake has been a very active commercial route, especially between this country and Canada, out of which have grown such busy centers of population as Burlington, Plattsburg and many lesser ones on both shores. For a like period it was a favorite route for tourist travel and its boats were among the finest in the country.

Mr. Crockett was an ardent and assiduous student of the subject. Probably he was unequalled in his day in familiarity with the past and present of this region, of which he was a native and life-long resident. Something of the enormous labor bestowed upon the preparation of the work may be seen in the list of references given in the Introduction. This list is intended primarily as a series of acknowledgments, but it is in reality a valuable bibliography and an important feature of the book. Extended as it is it is far from exhausting the sources of information examined by the author, especially if we include periodical literature, much of which is difficult of access.

To the selection of material Mr. Crockett brought a discriminating sense of historical values, which enabled him to pick out of the mass those items of permanent historic

value and to eliminate the unimportant and insignificant. He had also an excellent literary gift, and the result is a readable, accurate and informative narrative of deep and abiding human interest.

The book has long been out of print and copies are now scarce and difficult to obtain. The discovery and refloating of the *Philadelphia* has created a sufficient demand for the book to warrant the issue of a new edition to include a chapter descriptive of that event. It also gives a brief account of the recovery of a remnant of the *Royal Savage*. This chapter was prepared by Prof. Evan Thomas of the University of Vermont, generously aided by Comm. J. Ruppert Schalk and Capt. L. F. Hagglund of New York and the excellent report of the achievement in the *Burlington* (Vt.) *Daily News* of that date. Professor Thomas also prepared the chapter on the new bridges over the lake. Mr. D. A. Loomis, manager of the Champlain Transportation Company, has kindly added a valuable note bringing Chapter XV down to date.

THE PUBLISHERS.

INTRODUCTION

IN offering this "History of Lake Champlain" to the public the writer does not claim that every detail of important events has been recorded or that every incident worthy of remembrance has been included. Such treatment would require longer time and greater space than are available for the production of this book. An attempt has been made to describe briefly and accurately the principal features of the story of this lake and valley as written during the past three centuries by the three nations of France, Great Britain, and the United States of America.

Grateful acknowledgments are due Frank L. Greene, Hon. Horace W. Bailey, Hon. Carroll S. Page, Hon. John B. Riley, Hon. Charles Deal, Miss Edith Clarke, Capt. E. B. Rockwell, D. A. Loomis, officials of the navy department, and many others for valuable aid rendered in a variety of ways.

* * *

Among the books consulted in the preparation of this volume are: "Voyages of Champlain," "Jesuit Relations," Charlevoix's "History of New France," Kerlidou's "History of Fort St. Anne," Parkman's "Pioneers of France in the New World," Kalm's "Travels in North America," Force's "American Archives," O'Callaghan's "Documentary History of the State of New York," Palmer's "History of Lake Champlain," Watson's "Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley," Royce's "Bessboro," "Journal of William Gilliland," John Fiske's "New France and New England," Parker and Bryan's "Old Quebec," Histories of the United States by Winsor, Bancroft and Hildreth, Green's "Short History of the English

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St. Albans, Vt., June, 1909.

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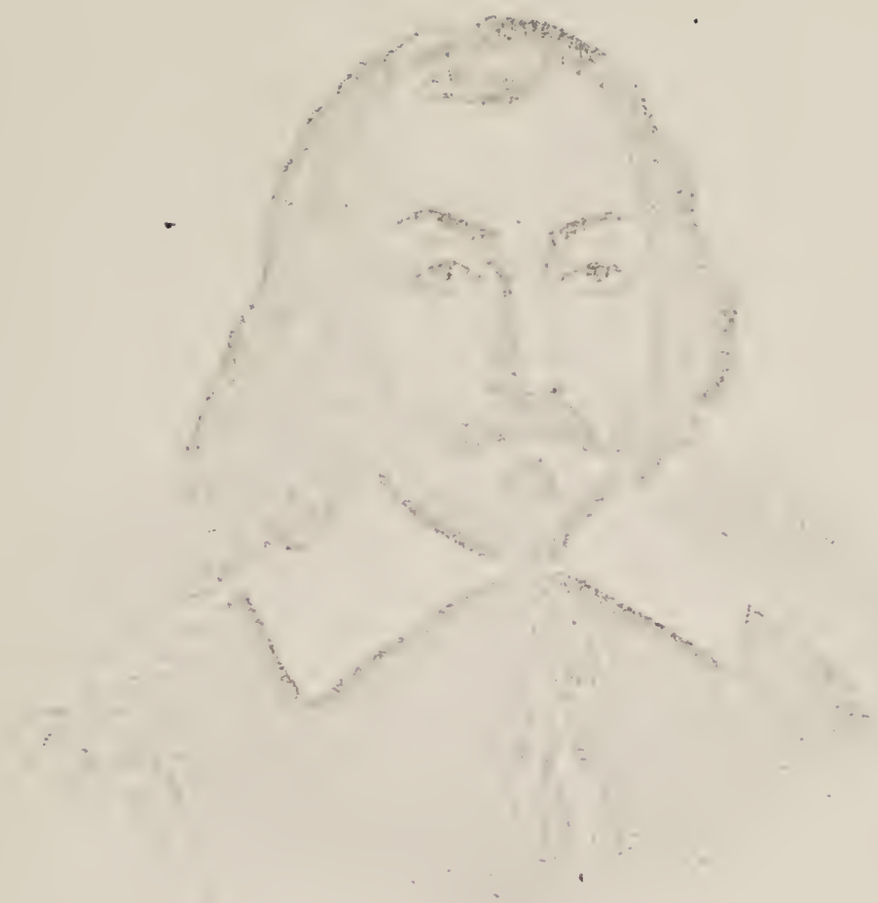
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SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.

FROM THE PAINTING BY TH. HAMEL AFTER THE MONCORNET PORTRAIT

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERY OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN

LAKE CHAMPLAIN is one of the largest bodies of fresh water in the United States, being exceeded in size by the Great Lakes, and by Lake Okechobee, in Florida, which is so shallow that in part it is more marsh than lake. Judged by the standard of historic interest, Lake Champlain has no rival in all the continent of North America; and in natural scenic beauty, it ranks with the best the world affords.

Lying in the valley between the Green and the Adirondack Mountain ranges, this lake is 118 miles long, measured from Whitehall, N. Y., to the northern extremity of Missisquoi Bay, which extends a few miles into Canada. Its greatest width is 12⅛ miles from the mouth of the Ausable River, on the west to the head of Malletts Bay, on the east, the average width being 4⅛ miles. Its greatest depth is 399 feet, off Essex, N. Y. Lake George flows into Lake Champlain. The more important tributary streams from Vermont include the Missisquoi, Lamoille, Winooski, Otter Creek, and Poultney; and from New York, the Big and Little Chazy, the Saranac, the Salmon, the Boquet, and the Great and Little Ausable. The deep channel of the lake forms the boundary line between the States of Vermont and New York, the greater part of the area lying within the limits of the Green Mountain State. Its waters are discharged northward through the Richelieu River into the St. Lawrence, and thence into the Atlantic Ocean, thus forming an exception to the direction in which the waters of most of the lakes and rivers of the United States flow, which is toward the south. The

Champlain Canal, between Whitehall and Waterford, connects the lake with the Hudson River and the Atlantic Ocean, while the Chambly Canal, between St. Johns and Chambly, Que., makes navigation possible around the rapids of the Richelieu to the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The larger islands in Lake Champlain include Grand Isle, North Hero, Isle La Motte, Valcour, Schuyler, Juniper, and the Four Brothers, called by the French the Islands of the Four Winds. Lake Champlain has been called the Lake of the Iroquois; Peta-wa-bouque, meaning alternate land and water; Peta-pargow, or the great water; and Lake Corlaer, after Arendt Van Corlaer, a popular New York official, who was drowned in its waters in 1667.

When the world was very much younger than it is today, so long ago that our years hardly enter into the reckoning, Lake Champlain was a part of the Atlantic Ocean. At a later period the valley between the Green Mountains and the Adirondacks was filled, destroying the connection between the waters of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and an interior sea. Geology tells us, if we follow the story written upon tablets of stone, of a Champlain River flowing northerly, through what is now the deep channel of the lake, the valley having been elevated. Much later this stream was dammed between the present international boundary line and the St. Lawrence by glacial material, brought from the north during the Ice Age. At one time this lake appears to have discharged its waters into the Hudson River, but another convulsion of nature restored the northern outlet.

At a period not far removed, as the geologist measures duration, but thousands of years ago according to our method of reckoning time, Lake Champlain still

covered a much larger area than it does today. It is easy to find on many limestone ledges, the cavernous holes worn by centuries of wave action. Many terraces may be seen showing the manner in which the waters gradually receded, and some of the highest elevations in the valley probably were islands at one time.

No evidence has been found to prove that any white man had visited Lake Champlain, or the region in its immediate vicinity, previous to the year 1609. In that year Samuel Champlain, "Father of New France," founder of Quebec, mariner, explorer, and warrior, agreed to accompany the Huron, Montagnais, and Algonquin Indians against their powerful enemies to the South, the Iroquois, or Five Nations, of which confederation the Mohawks were prominent members, and near neighbors to their northern foés. After nearly a week spent in war dances and festivities at Quebec, toward the end of June, Champlain, with eleven Frenchmen and his Indian allies, started on a war expedition into the Iroquois country. Two days were spent at the mouth of the Richelieu River, and a disagreement arising regarding the war plans, a part of the Indians decided to return to their homes. Champlain and his countrymen, in a small shallop, setting out on the journey outsailed their savage allies and crossing Chambly Basin discovered the Chambly rapids. The Indians had assured Champlain that the route was an easy one, and his first impulse, finding himself deceived, and being unable to proceed with the shallop, was to turn back. His desire, however, to see the "large lake filled with beautiful islands," of which he had been told, was stronger than his displeasure, and he determined to go on. He says that "up to this time no Christians had been as far as this place except us." Only two of the Frenchmen in the party volunteered to proceed with their leader, the others

returning to Quebec. The war party was a small one with which to make a foray into the enemy's country. It consisted of the French leader, his two white companions, and sixty Indians, in twenty-four canoes. Leaving the head of the Chambly rapids on July 2, the canoes, arms, and baggage were carried around the most dangerous part of the rapids. Champlain and some of the Indians then reembarked in the canoes, the rest of the party proceeding by land until smooth water was found. The journey was continued until an island was reached which Bourne, one of the translators of Champlain's journals, says was St. Theresa. The explorer describes the island as being covered with the most beautiful pines he had ever seen. Here a stop was made and the Indians went on a brief hunting expedition. Going on a little farther, a camp was made for the night.

In his narrative Champlain tells of the Indian method of making such a camp. Bark was stripped from the trees with which to cover their temporary huts, and large trees were cut down on three sides to form a barricade, the river forming the fourth side. Several scouts were sent out to reconnoitre some distance in front. It was their custom, if no signs of an enemy were discovered, to leave no sentinels on guard, the whole party lying down for the night. Champlain criticized his allies for the laxity of their methods, but they told him that they worked enough by day. No fire was made for cooking while in the enemy's country, but Indian meal cakes were carried for such occasions, which were soaked in water and then eaten.

Champlain also describes the operations of the sooth-sayer or medicine man who concealed himself in a little hut and performed certain incantations, pretending to learn from the devil the events that were to occur.

On the next day, July 3, the party continued up the Richelieu River, as far as the entrance to the lake. The French explorer mentions the many pretty islands that he saw, low and covered with forests and meadows, wherein he found stags, fallow deer, fawns, roebucks, and other animals. There were many beavers in this river and its tributaries. Notwithstanding the beauty of this region it was not inhabited, as the vicinity of this ancient highway for war parties was an unsafe place in which to dwell.

According to Champlain's own record, he entered the lake on July 4, a day of good omen. He says that he left the head of the Chambly rapids on July 2. That night the party camped about three leagues beyond a certain island. The next day they continued as far as the entrance to the lake, and the day following they entered the lake. Some authorities hold that the date of the discovery was July 14, instead of July 4. Parkman says that "his [Champlain's] dates in this part of his narrative are exceedingly careless and confused, May and June being mixed indiscriminately." It is argued that Champlain could not have spent nearly four weeks on the lake between the discovery and the encounter with the enemy, which he says was on July 30. The same argument, in lesser degree, may be urged against July 14 as the date of discovery. Apparently he did not need two weeks in which to travel as far as the scene of the battle with the Iroquois.

The period between the discovery and the battle at the southern end of the lake is largely a sealed book. The fact that this was a war party, following a route where the enemy might be encountered at any hour, would lead to the belief that no time would be spent in exploring the country, but rather that the warriors would

press forward in eager haste to strike the foe at the earliest opportunity; and yet, whether the period spent in traversing the lake be counted two weeks, or four, it was much longer in either event than would be required to make such a journey under normal conditions. Earlier in his narrative Champlain refers to Lake Ontario as "ten days' journey long," and that lake is at least twice as long as Champlain's journey on this lake. Five or six days would appear to have been plenty of time for the distance covered on the lake. On the other hand, if Champlain had explored this region carefully, we might naturally expect that a man so particular to record his travels in new countries would have given a more complete account of what he saw, yet his descriptions are such as might have been obtained on a brief trip on which only the necessary stops were made. Of course some time may have been spent in sending out scouting parties, although it is probable that this expedition expected to surprise the enemy rather than to be surprised by them. Unless additional records are found dealing with this period the subject must remain a field for speculation, and if we accept the explorer's date of the battle as July 30, we may as well accept his date of the discovery, July 4.

Several towns along the lake have claimed a visit from Champlain on this trip, and the claim is made with more earnestness for Isle La Motte than for any other place, with the exception of Ticonderoga. It is possible that the party did stop here, and that for many centuries the island had been a convenient camping ground for war parties, as it continued to be for two centuries thereafter; but this conclusion must be reached by the theory of probabilities rather than by any actual proof.

It has been argued that when Champlain writes of stopping in the river at an island three leagues long

covered with beautiful pines he did not mean St. Theresa, or any other island in the Richelieu, but Isle La Motte, and that while proceeding from the real entrance to the lake to the latter island the explorer supposed he was still in the river.

In his narrative Champlain tells of coming to the entrance of the rapids at Chambly Basin, describes what took place there, and after determining to go on, says: "I left these rapids of the Iroquois [Richelieu] River on July 2." This clearly indicates that he left the head of the rapids at that time. On this day, following Champlain's story, the boats and the baggage were carried by land half a league, past the swiftest part of the rapids, and about half of the party walked along the shore another league and a half. If a league is called three miles, then about thirty men walked six miles, after which the party was reviewed. When the island, "three leagues long," was reached a stop was made for a hunting expedition, after which the party proceeded another three leagues. If Champlain had camped on the same island it is probable that he would have said so, and according to the theory advanced the camp should have been made several miles south of Isle La Motte. This would make a journey by canoe of nearly, if not quite fifty miles in one day, including a journey of six miles on foot, and a stop for a hunting expedition, truly a strenuous day's work. That leaves twenty-seven days for the rest of the distance, less than one and one-half times as far as the route covered in one day. But Champlain says that they continued their course in the river the next day as far as the entrance to the lake and speaks of many pretty islands, which are low. If it is conceded that the stop for hunting was made at the extreme north end of Isle La Motte and the camp of July 2 was made at the extreme

south end of the same island, it is difficult to account for another whole day of "continuing" in the "river," where they saw many beautiful low islands. These could not have been the larger islands, for he alludes to these farther on, when he entered the lake on July 4. It is not probable that the party on July 2 traveled from Chambly to Isle La Motte, or beyond. It is not probable that Champlain thought he was still in the river after leaving the present site of Rouses Point. The width of the lake north of Isle La Motte is not very much less than it is all the way to the southern extremity of Grand Isle County. Moreover, Champlain was journeying with Indians who were familiar with these waters. They knew the route because it is probable that some of them had traversed it frequently, as their fathers had done before them. They knew where the river ended and where the lake began. Champlain alludes to other facts of interest which his Indian companions told him. When it is considered that the promise of seeing this lake was the incentive which persuaded the French leader to undertake a dangerous journey into an enemy's country, it is hardly conceivable that the Indians would permit him to spend a day and a night on its waters and shores, if it can be imagined that he did not know when he was out of the river, before they informed him that his desire had been accomplished. It is vastly more probable that as they approached the entrance to the lake they pointed to it with joyful eagerness, that they might please the great white chieftain, upon whom they depended for victory over their enemies.

Champlain, describing his entrance into the lake, says it was "of great extent," and tells of four beautiful islands, "which formerly had been inhabited by savages like the River of the Iroquois; but they had been aban-

doned since they had been at war with one another." Thus the veil is lifted for a brief glimpse into the prehistoric period, but whether the occupancy alluded to was recent or remote at the time of writing, is unknown. The description of the lake as fifty or sixty leagues long and the large islands as ten, twelve, and fifteen leagues long, of course is inaccurate. Continuing his description the explorer tells of "several rivers which flow into the lake that are bordered by many fine trees, of the same sorts that we have in France, with a quantity of vines more beautiful than any I had seen in any other place; many chestnut trees, and I have not seen any at all before, except on the shores of the lake, where there is a great abundance of fish of a good many varieties." He does not say that the Indians told him of trees and vines bordering these rivers, but describes what he had seen. This would seem to indicate that he explored some of the tributary rivers, to a certain extent, at least. It is true that he had time to pursue such explorations if his dates are at all accurate.

That the Indians had a fondness for telling fish stories is indicated by the description given of the chaousarou, supposed by some to be the gar pike, which, it is said, sometimes were eight or ten feet long. Champlain saw some of these fish that were five feet long, "as big as a man's thigh, with a head as large as two fists, a snout two and a half feet long, and a double row of very sharp and dangerous teeth." He adds that the fish is "armed with scales so strong that a dagger could not pierce them," that it is silver gray in color, and that the end of its snout is like that of a pig. The Indians said that when they suffered from a headache they cured themselves speedily by bleeding the spot where the pain was located with the teeth of this fish. The savages described the cunning of

this chaousarou, by asserting that when it wished to catch certain birds it would lie in the weeds or rushes, put its snout out of the water, and keep perfectly still. The birds would alight on this half open snout, thinking that it was "the trunk of a tree," and presently the bird would be drawn under water by the feet.

Champlain describes his journey up the lake in the following words: "Continuing our course in this lake on the west side I saw, as I was observing the country, some very high mountains on the east side, with snow on the top of them. I inquired of the savages if these places were inhabited. They told me that they were—by the Iroquois—and that in these places there were beautiful valleys and open stretches fertile in grain, such as I had eaten in this country, with a great many other fruits; and that the lake went near some mountains, which were perhaps, as it seemed to me, about fifteen leagues from us. I saw on the south others not less high than the first, but they had no snow at all. The savages told me that it was there that we were to go to find their enemies, and that these mountains were thickly peopled. They also said that it was necessary to pass a rapid, which I saw afterward, and from there to enter another lake, three or four leagues long, and that when we had reached the end of that it would be necessary to follow a trail for four leagues, and to pass over a river which empties on the coast of the Almouchiquois, near the coast of Norumbegue; and that it was only two days' journey by their canoes, as I have [also] learned since from some prisoners that we took who described to us very much in detail all that they had found out themselves about the matter through some Algonquin interpreters who knew the Iroquois language."

Champlain's reference to mountains on the east side of the lake, evidently the Green Mountains, the tops of which were covered with snow, is not easily explained. It is difficult to believe that these mountains actually were snow capped in July, so that an observer passing through the lake, along the western shore, could see their glistening summits. Had the season been so cold that winter thus lingered, not "in the lap of spring," but in the lap of summer, it might be expected that a close observer like Champlain would have recorded the fact, earlier in his journals. Such evidence as there is indicates a normal season, for the writer describes the abundance of vines and verdure. It is possible that a cloud formation may have appeared like snow on the mountain summits, or that a landslide on the slope of Mansfield or Camel's Hump in certain lights may have suggested snow.

There is no evidence to prove that in later years the Iroquois or members of any other tribe in considerable numbers permanently occupied the hills and valleys of the Green Mountain region for the cultivation of grains and fruits, and it may be that the Indian allies desiring to tell a pleasant tale, drew to some extent upon their imaginations for details. The mountains to the south evidently were the Adirondacks. The other lake to which reference is made clearly is Lake George, and the rapid is the outlet of that lake. The description of the route to the Mohawk country by way of Lake George and the Hudson is a plain one, but the war party was not destined to follow it, as it is probable they had expected to do.

As Champlain and his companions approached within two or three days' journey of the region inhabited by the Iroquois more care was taken, traveling being done by night. During the day they rested in the forests, which, extending to the margin of the water must have furnished

a beautiful emerald setting for the lake. The fact that Champlain had a dream in which he saw the Iroquois drowning was considered a most encouraging omen, and produced great joy in the camp of the Hurons, Montagnais, and Algonquins.

The story of the battle is best told in Champlain's own words. He says: "When evening came we embarked in our canoes to continue our way; and, as we were going along very quietly, and without making any noise, on the twenty-ninth of the month, we met the Iroquois at ten o'clock at night at the end of a cape that projects into the lake on the west side, and they were coming to war. We both began making loud cries each getting his arms ready. We withdrew toward the water and the Iroquois went ashore and arranged their canoes in line, and began to cut down trees with poor axes, which they get in war sometimes, and also with others of stone; and they barricaded themselves very well.

"Our men also passed the whole night with their canoes drawn up close together, fastened to poles, so that they might not get scattered, and might fight all together, if there were need of it; we were on the water within arrow range of the side where the barricades were.

"When they were armed and in array, they sent two canoes set apart from the others to learn from their enemies if they wanted to fight. They replied that they desired nothing else but that, at the moment, there was not much light and they must wait for the daylight to recognize each other, and that as soon as the sun rose they would open the battle. This was accepted by our men; and while we waited, the whole night was passed in dances and songs, as much on one side as on the other, with endless insults, and other talk, such as the little courage they had, their feebleness and inability to make re-



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SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN AND ALGONQUIN INDIANS IN BATTLE WITH THE IROQUOIS.

sistance against their arms, and that when day came they should feel it to their ruin. Our men also were not lacking in retort, telling them that they should see such power of arms as never before; amid much other talk, as is customary in the siege of a city. After plenty of singing, dancing and parleying with one another, daylight came. My companions and I lay concealed for fear that the enemy should see us, preparing our arms the best that we could, separated, however, each in one of the canoes of the Montagnais savages. After arming ourselves with light armor, each of us took an arquebuse and went ashore. I saw the enemy come out of their barricade, nearly 200 men, strong and robust to look at, coming slowly toward us with a dignity and assurance that pleased me very much. At their head there were three chiefs. Our men also went forth in the same order, and they told me that those who wore three large plumes were the chiefs, and that there were only three of them; and that they were recognizable by these plumes, which were a great deal larger than those of their companions; and that I should do all that I could to kill them. I promised them to do all in my power, and said that I was very sorry that they could not understand me well, so that I might give order and system to their attack of the enemy, in which case we should undoubtedly destroy them all; but that this could not be remedied; that I was very glad to encourage them and to show them the good-will that I felt, when we should engage in battle.

"As soon as we went ashore they began to run about 200 paces toward their enemy, who were standing firmly and had not yet noticed my companions, who went into the woods with some savages. Our men began to call me with loud cries; and to give me a passageway, they divided into two parts and put me at their head, where

I marched about twenty paces in front of them until I was thirty paces from the enemy. They at once saw me and halted, looking at me, and I at them. When I saw them making move to shoot at us, I rested my arquebuse against my cheek and aimed directly at one of the three chiefs. With the same shot two of them fell to the ground, and one of their companions who was wounded and afterward died. I put four balls into my arquebuse. When our men saw this shot so favorable for them, they began to make cries so loud that one could not have heard it thunder. Meanwhile the arrows did not fail to fly from both sides. The Iroquois were much astonished that two men had been so quickly killed, although they were provided with armor woven from cotton thread and from wood, proof against their arrows. This alarmed them greatly. As I was loading again one of my companions fired a shot from the woods, which astonished them again to such a degree that, seeing their chiefs dead, they lost courage, took to flight and abandoned the field and their fort, fleeing into the depths of the woods. Pursuing them thither I killed some more of them. Our savages also killed several of them and took ten or twelve of them prisoners. The rest escaped with the wounded. There were fifteen or sixteen of our men wounded by arrow shots, who were soon healed.

"After we had gained the victory they amused themselves by taking a great quantity of Indian corn and meal from their enemies, and also their arms, which they had left in order to run better. And having made good cheer, danced and sung, we returned three hours afterward with the prisoners.

"This place, where this charge was made, is in latitude 43 degrees and some minutes and I named the lake Lake Champlain."

There has been no little discussion over the place where this battle was fought, the principal claims being made in behalf of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The description of the cape near which the battle was fought, and the latitude, apply to Ticonderoga more clearly than to Crown Point. There is, however, one fact which seems to establish the claim of Ticonderoga beyond dispute. When Champlain's Indian allies were telling him of the route to be taken into the Iroquois country by the way of Lake George, they said it was necessary to pass a rapid, "which I saw afterward," says the explorer in describing the incident. Then he describes the entrance to Lake George very plainly, so that his meaning cannot be misunderstood. There is no evidence to show that Champlain visited this lake again. This "rapid" was in the outlet of Lake George, the rapids beginning about a mile and a half from Lake Champlain, and if the explorer saw these rapids, as he says he did in language that cannot be mistaken, it must have been on this expedition. If the battle had been at Crown Point, he could not have gone on to Ticonderoga, for three hours after the battle the return trip was begun. Champlain tells of pursuing the fleeing Iroquois "into the depths of the woods." On this occasion he might well have gone a mile or two from shore, as far as the rapids. No satisfactory explanation can be made of this visit to the rapids unless the scene of the conflict is laid at Ticonderoga.

After traveling eight leagues to the northward a stop was made, as evening fell, and the victors, by means of the most barbarous tortures, proceeded to put one of their prisoners to death, Champlain being greatly distressed at the revolting spectacle. The other prisoners were taken into Canada. The party separated at the rapids of the

Richelieu, the Indians expressing their gratitude for the powerful aid of the French.

The results of Champlain's battle with the Iroquois are written red in the annals of New France. What appeared to be an unimportant skirmish with a few savages made the powerful Iroquois confederacy the bitter enemies of the French, an advantage of which the British were not slow to avail themselves, and which counted heavily in favor of the latter in the long conflict for supremacy in North America, which was to follow.

It is sometimes forgotten at what an early date, comparatively speaking, Lake Champlain was discovered. New England was then an unsettled, and practically an unexplored wilderness. The only British post on the whole Atlantic seaboard had been established the previous year, in 1608, at Jamestown, in Virginia. The French had established themselves at Port Royal, Nova Scotia, in 1605, and at Quebec, in 1608. Far to the south the Spanish held St. Augustine, in Florida, and, hundreds of miles to the westward, Santa Fe, in what is now New Mexico. It was not until later in the year 1609 that Henry Hudson discovered the Delaware River, and the stream to which he gave his own name—the Hudson. Eight years later the Connecticut River was explored. Not until 1626 did Peter Minuits purchase the island of Manhattan, and Boston was not founded until 1630. In this year, 1609, Pastor John Robinson led the English Pilgrims, then in Holland, from Amsterdam to Leyden, from which they were destined to sail eleven years afterward, with a brief stop in England, to found Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts.

Henry IV, better known as Henry of Navarre, was King of France, James I was monarch of Great Britain, Queen Eilzabeth having been dead six years. Only a

score of years had passed since the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Shakespeare, Bacon, and Sir Walter Raleigh were living, and John Milton was an infant less than one year old.

Champlain at this time was in the very prime of life, being about forty-two years old. He was a native of Brouage, then a little seaport town of the old province of Saintonge, France, but now nearly two miles inland. From boyhood he had been interested in the sea. His first voyage was to Spain with his uncle. In 1599 he had commanded a ship on a cruise to the West Indies and New Spain. He landed at Vera Cruz, visited the city of Mexico, and stopping at Panama he saw the opportunity for, and the importance of, a canal across the isthmus. He had explored the mouth of the St. Lawrence and the coasts of Nova Scotia and New England, and had written of his voyages in his journals. He was a man of remarkable versatility, and was able to adapt himself with ease to life at the court of the King or in the camp of the savage. He was a zealous servant, both of the King of Kings and the monarch of France, earnestly seeking the propagation of the Christian religion, and the extension of the national domain.

For twenty-six years following the discovery of the lake which bears his name, or until his death at Quebec on Christmas Day, 1635, Samuel Champlain was the hope of France in the New World. He continued his explorations far to the westward with tireless zeal and he endured all manner of hardships and privations for his faith, for his King, and for his country. With few exceptions, Champlain was wise and discreet in his public policies, and he was always honorable and devout in his private life. He had far-sighted plans for the welfare of Canada, his chief desire being the colonization of the

country and the establishment of the Christian religion among the savages. In pursuance of the latter desire he obtained the consent of both Pope and King that the Recollet fathers might begin missionary work in America, and the first band of missionaries left France in 1615. Later, the Jesuits were asked to assist in the work, and came to Canada in large numbers. Notwithstanding his error in attacking the Iroquois, his services were of inestimable value to France, and his death was an irreparable loss to the country which he had served so long and so well. His brilliant dreams were not prophetic of future glory, his noble ambitions often were unsatisfied, his fervent prayers for the permanent triumph of France were unanswered; but the lake which he discovered in the year 1609 will ever perpetuate the name of one of the bravest soldiers, one of the truest gentlemen, and the foremost explorer of all the pioneers of France in the Western world.

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION

THERE is no evidence to show that the discovery of Lake Champlain was followed for many years by any definite attempts at farther exploration in this region. How soon after establishing themselves in Canada the Jesuit Fathers, or Black Gowns, as they were often called, turned their attention to the Iroquois country to the southward, is largely a matter of speculation, but it is probable that it was twenty or twenty-five years at least after Champlain's expedition in to the borders of that region. A few allusions are made in the "Jesuit Relations," the voluminous records or that religious order, to "some missionary work among the Iroquois."

In a letter to Governor Denonville, dated March 8, 1688, and dealing with Canadian affairs, it is stated that "the King has for over forty years kept at his own expense in the Iroquois country several Frenchmen, who, with some Jesuit missionaries have been to build and have resided in the five Iroquois countries, all at the same time, down to these latter days, when the rumors of war have forced them to retire, one after another."

One of the most famous of these Jesuit missionaries was Father Issac Jogues, who suffered almost incredible tortures for his faith and finally gave up his life as a Christian martyr among the savage Iroquois.

In 1642 a fort called Richelieu was built at the mouth of the river bearing the same name, by M. Montmagny as a defense against the Five Nations. At this time the savages were particularly aggressive, and the Canadian settlements were in constant peril. Fort Richelieu was

abandoned late in 1645, burned by the Iroquois, probably in the spring of 1646, and rebuilt in 1665 by M. de Chambly. Two other forts were now built on the Richelieu River. The first was seventeen leagues south of Fort Richelieu, being constructed under the direction of M. de Sorel, and was named Fort St. Louis, in honor of the saint whose holy week saw its inception; the second was about three leagues farther south, and was called Fort St. Theresa, because it was completed on St. Theresa's Day. From this fort, the French records say, "we can easily reach Lake Champlain without meeting any rapids to stop the bateaux."

In the fall of 1665 M. de Repentigny was sent to Isle La Motte to prepare a site for a fort. Thither, in the summer of 1666, Pierre de St. Paul, Sieur de la Mothe (or la Motte), a captain of the Carignan regiment, with a few companies of soldiers, was sent to build a fort. It was completed in July, about the time that M. de Chazy was killed near the mouth of the river bearing his name, and it was dedicated to St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin. The width of this fort was ninety-six feet, but its exact length cannot be determined as one end of the site has been washed away. The dimension that is known is similar to the width of Forts Richelieu and St. Theresa. If the length also was the same it was 144 feet. A chapel in honor of St. Anne was also erected here in 1666.

Late in the year 1665, Daniel de Remy, Sieur de Courcelles, governor of New France, was ordered to prepare with haste an expedition into the country of the hostile Indians, and he started January 9, 1666, with 300 of the Carignan regiment and 200 habitants. The weather was very severe and the men suffered greatly by reason of the cold. So many men fell out of the ranks on account

of disability that it became necessary to take four companies from the forts on the Richelieu River to fill the vacancies. On January 30, de Courcelles left Fort St. Therese with 500 men. The snow being four feet deep, snowshoes were used, and the men drew their provisions on light sledges, as the depth of snow made the use of horses impossible. The soldiers also carried twenty-five or thirty pounds weight on their backs, and the commander carried his share like a private in the ranks.

Passing up Lake Champlain on the ice, the expedition started across country toward the Mohawk villages. De Courcelles lost his way, through the incompetence of his guides, and passing too far to the south, he reached the vicinity of what is now Schenectady, on February 9. A small party of Mohawks appearing, the Indians were pursued by sixty of the French Fusiliers, who were drawn into an ambuscade, some 200 savages being hidden in the forest. Eleven Frenchmen, including a lieutenant, were killed, and several were wounded. The soldiers fired a volley and fell back. The Mohawks also retired, taking four scalps as trophies. The Indian loss was three men killed and six wounded. It is asserted that the exertions of Arendt Van Corlaer, a prominent and popular New York official, prevented the massacre of the French party.

The English at Albany (Fort Orange), desiring to learn the meaning of this expedition, sent a delegation of three citizens to de Courcelles to inquire as to the nature of the invasion. The French commander assured them that his only purpose was to punish the Mohawks for their attacks upon the Canadian settlements and that he had no hostile designs upon the English. This explanation being considered satisfactory the wounded were sent to Albany, and needed provisions were sold to the French troops.

Having rested his men until February 12, de Courcelles returned with all possible speed to Lake Champlain and thence to Canada. The Mohawks followed the invaders as far as the lake, taking three prisoners, and finding, according to British records, the bodies of five men, who were victims of cold or hunger. Charlevoix, in his "History of New France," says sixty men perished of hunger on the homeward march.

The expedition of de Courcelles could not be counted as a brilliant success. He had failed to strike the Mohawk villages, and he had narrowly escaped losing his entire force. He had, however, created some alarm among the Mohawks, which was increased by information given by the prisoners to the effect that a more formidable invasion might be expected later that year.

The Indians were far from being subdued by the de Courcelles expedition. The hostility aroused by Champlain's attack, more than a half century before, is reflected in the instructions issued by the King, in March, 1665, to M. Talon, intendant of police, justice, and finance of New France, in which he declares that the Iroquois "are all perpetual and irreconciliable enemies of the colony." He adds that they have "prevented the country being more peopled than it is at present, and by their surprises and unexpected forays always keeping the country in check; [and] the King has resolved with a view of applying a suitable remedy thereto to carry the war even to their firesides to totally exterminate them having no guarantee in their words, for they violate their faith as often as they find the inhabitants at their mercy."

The King's determination to subdue the hostile savages had found expression in sending to Quebec Alexander de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, "member of His Majesty's councils and lieutenant general of his armies, both in the

islands and mainland of South and North America, as well as by sea as by land." De Tracy had been sent out as viceroy in 1664, and was accompanied by many young nobles. He had an honorable record as a soldier, and at this time was well advanced in years. He had been ordered to Quebec from the Antilles to put an end, if possible, to the intolerable persecution of the hostile savages. Three tribes of the Five Nations, upon hearing of the building of Fort St. Anne and the fortifications on the Richelieu, sent messengers seeking terms of peace, and were sent home laden with presents; but the Mohawks and Oneidas remained sullenly aloof. After the expedition led by de Courcelles had returned these two hostile tribes made overtures of peace, and de Tracy, somewhat reluctantly, accepted their proposals. About this time, however, while a small party of officers were hunting and fishing near Fort St. Anne, on Isle La Motte, they were attacked by a band of Mohawks, two captains of the Carignan regiment were killed and several prisoners were taken.

Captain de Sorel, with 300 soldiers, was ordered to carry fire and sword immediately into the Mohawk country. By forced marches he crossed Lake Champlain and started for the Indian villages, where he was met by a deputation of Mohawks, who returned the French captives and offered satisfaction for the crimes committed. Sorel returned to Quebec, and negotiations were resumed, as a result of which a treaty was signed on July 12, by the terms of which the Iroquois agreed to become friends and allies of the French, and to restore the Canadian, Algonquin, and Huron prisoners in their hands.

This treaty was made only to be broken by the Indians, and de Tracy determined to deal the Mohawks a blow so crushing that thereby an effective lesson should be taught.

A punitive expedition was organized under M. de Talon with orders to rendezvous on September 28, 1666, at Fort St. Anne. The nucleus of the expedition consisted of 600 seasoned veterans of the Carignan-Salieres regiment, an organization which had gained distinction under Count Coligny in the service of Emperor Leopold against the Turks. The regular troops were assembled at Isle La Motte, in and about the fort. On the shore of the mainland, to the west, were encamped 600 habitants, or Canadian volunteers, and 100 Algonquin and Huron warriors.

This rendezvous is a scene that appeals to the imagination. Here, in the early fall, with the great forests all about them just taking on the most brilliant tints of autumnal foliage, at the last outpost to the southward of the French dominions in this part of America, on a little island farther from civilization than any spot on the globe today, was assembled a company of men in armor, who had won renown on many a hard-fought field in Europe. They represented the established order of military science; and they had for allies, not only the half-breed peasants of New France, but naked, painted savage warriors of North America. The two extremes of the world's fighting men here met; and the French were going out, still farther into the vast wilderness, to fight other savages, whose methods of warfare were not written in any book of military tactics known to soldiers.

On October 1 de Courcelles left Fort St. Anne with a vanguard of 400 men. Two days later de Tracy set out with the main body of the troops, accompanied by Chevalier de Chaumont, and other officers. On October 7, Captains Sorel, Berthier, and Chambly followed with the rear guard. Slow progress was made up the lake, as 300 canoes and light bateaux were carried for crossing the lakes and rivers along the route, and two small pieces of

artillery were taken with which to force any fortifications the enemy might have constructed.

The expedition had been provided with provisions to last until the Mohawk country should be reached, but these had not been carefully husbanded. As a result the supplies failed before the destination was reached, and the troops were ready to disband in search for food, when they chanced to come upon a chestnut grove where they obtained a store of nuts, which lasted until they reached the first Mohawk village. They entered this encampment in battle array, with standards flying, and drums beating. The French commander had hoped to surprise the enemy, but the Mohawks were not a foe easily surprised, and being warned in time had abandoned their villages, seeking refuge in the mountains, firing now and then from their hiding places a shot at the invaders.

In the first village entered the French found cabins well built and adorned. Some of them were 120 feet long, and proportionally wide, being covered with boards within and without. Enough grain to last the colony for two years was found buried. The town was burned and a captive Algonquin squaw acted as their guide to the next encampment. The villages were ravaged from end to end, and many palisades and cabins, together with large stores of Indian corn, beans, and other provisions were burned, while some women and a few aged men, too feeble to flee, were taken prisoners.

The return of the expedition was rendered difficult by the rapid rise of the streams, heavy rains having set in. A fierce storm was encountered on Lake Champlain, during which two canoes were swamped and eight soldiers drowned, among them being Lieutenant du Lugues, a young officer who, already by his valor had achieved distinction, both in France and Canada. The expedition

lasted fifty-three days, and won for the colony a peace of nearly two decades. It is related of the commander that in spite of ill health and his advanced years he was as zealous as though "he enjoyed perfect health and was only thirty years of age."

It is written in the French records that "besides the taking possession of the Mohawks' country by Sieur de Tracy with an armed force in the fall of the year 1666, the deputies of the four other Iroquois nations came to said M. de Tracy in 1667 and in due form, by an act signed on the one part and the other by the Iroquois after their fashion and by us after ours, did give themselves to the French and placed their country under the King's dominion."

General de Tracy returned to France, August 28, 1667, but many of the members of the Carignan regiment, being offered a gratuity to settle in New France as colonists, made their homes in Canada, and their names—Chambly, Chazy, Sorel, and others—are perpetuated in the geography of that region to this day.

During the winter of 1666-67 many of the soldiers at Fort St. Anne were ill of scurvy. General de Tracy asked that a priest be sent to the post, and Father Dollier de Casson came from Montreal on snowshoes, and walked on the ice to Isle La Motte. Here he celebrated Mass, and officiated at the burial of thirteen soldiers. Sixty men assembled daily for Mass and prayers. Father de Casson returned to Montreal in the summer of 1667.

During this same summer of 1667 three Jesuit priests, Fathers Fremin, Pierron, and Bruyas, set out on a journey to the lower Iroquois, to restore the missions interrupted by the wars. Owing to their fear of an Indian tribe called the Loups (Wolves) they were detained at Fort St. Anne, and conducted a mission for the soldiers.

While there Father Pierron wrote a letter, dated August 12, 1667, which, so far as known, was the first written in what is now the State of Vermont. Copies are preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, and in St. Mary's College at Montreal. Unfortunately for the curiosity of later generations this letter contained no description of the fort, but described the writer's voyage to America, and the habits and customs of the Iroquois, whose language the writer found to resemble that of the Greeks. The priest thought that when he reached his destination near the forty-second parallel of latitude he would be "quite near to Virginia."

An Indian legend of Lake Champlain is told by these fathers who stopped at Isle La Motte, and is recorded in the "Jesuit Relations." The priests left Isle La Motte on St. Bartholomew's day and coming near the southern end of the lake, accompanied by Indians, the writer says: "Arriving within three-quarters of a league of the falls by which Lake St. Sacrement [Lake George] empties, we all halted at this spot, without knowing why, until we saw our savages at the waterside gathering up flints, which were almost all cut into shape. We did not at that time reflect upon this, but have since then learned the mystery for our Iroquois told us that they never fail to halt at this place to pay homage to a race of invisible men who dwell there at the bottom of the lake. These beings occupy themselves in preparing flints nearly all cut for the passerby, provided the latter pay their respects to them by giving them tobacco. If they give these beings much of it, the latter give them a liberal supply of stones. These water men travel in canoes, as do the Iroquois; and when their great captain proceeds to throw himself into the water to enter his palace, he makes so loud a

noise that he fills with fear the minds of those who have no knowledge of this great spirit and of these little men.

"At the recital of this fable which our Iroquois told us, in all seriousness, we asked them if they did not also give some tobacco to the Great Spirit of Heaven, and to those who dwelt with Him. The answer was that they did not need any, as do people on this earth. The occasion of this ridiculous story," says the narrative, "is the fact that the lake is, in reality, often agitated by very frightful tempests, especially in the basin where Sieur Corlart [Corlaer] met his death; and when the wind comes in the direction of the lake, it drives on the beach a quantity of stones which are hard, and capable of striking fire."

One of the fathers tells of passing a fine slate quarry five leagues from Lake St. Sacrement, not like those near Quebec, but, to use his own words, "this one is quite like those I have seen in the Ardennes of our France, its color being a beautiful blue."

In June, 1668, Bishop Laval, the first bishop of Quebec and New France, visited Fort St. Anne and gave confirmation, making the journey both ways in a canoe.

The fort probably was deserted in 1670, as that year Captain LaMothe became the governor of Montreal. Father Kerlidou, in his work on Isle La Motte, says that "before leaving the fort the soldiers burned all the palisades, and barracks; they also took with them everything that could be easily carried, and which might be of use somewhere else."

Captain LaMothe, some years later, was killed by the Indians. His name should not be confounded with that of LaMothe de Cadillac, who founded Detroit and took such a prominent part in French affairs in the West.

Fort St. Anne was the first settlement of white men within the limits of what is now known as the State of Vermont. Here was the first observance of Christian worship in the State; and, although the occupation was not a permanent one, the fort being allowed to fall into decay after a few years had passed, it does not seem probable that the place ever relapsed entirely into a wilderness. Isle La Motte was a favorite stopping place on the frequently traveled route from Canada to the Hudson valley. According to the New York Colonial Documents, during the war of 1690 the western Iroquois were to meet at Fort St. Anne, on Isle La Motte, "an abandoned French work on Lake Champlain."

The site of Fort St. Anne has now passed into the possession of the Roman Catholic diocese of Burlington, and pilgrimages are made during the summer months to the shrine of St. Anne at that place. The site of the old fort, which appears to have been lozenge shaped, has been excavated with care, and many relics have been secured. Fourteen mounds were opened in the spring of 1896, and under every one the ruins of a fireplace, full of ashes, was found. Under one mound a brick oven was discovered. The foundations of some buildings, 16 by 12 feet, were disclosed, while others were 16 by 32 feet in size. Among the relics unearthed were knives, forks, two solid silver spoons, one bearing the name of L. Case, broken dishes, buttons, cooking utensils, carpenters' tools, pipes, pieces of guns, bullets, gun flints, arrow heads, tomahawks, Indian pottery, nails, pieces of burned timber, and coins, one dated 1656.

CHAPTER III

THE ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENT

WAR between France and Great Britain followed the accession of William and Mary to the British throne in 1689, and the conflict extended to the American colonies. With a few brief intervals of peace, the hostility of the Iroquois had continued since the battle with Champlain in 1609. When M. de la Barre, governor of Canada, declared war on the Iroquois in 1684 Governor Dongan of New York took these Indians under British protection and caused the royal arms to be set up in their villages, taking possession in the name of the British monarch.

Chevalier de Callieres, governor of Montreal and commander of the French troops in Canada, returned to Paris in 1689, and submitted to the King a plan for the conquest of New York. He had urged the previous year that France purchase the colony of New York from Great Britain, or exchange it for some of the Antilles, saying that it "would render His Majesty master of all North America." Learning that New York was not for sale or exchange, he proposed, in order to capture this desirable province, that a force of 2,000 men be sent by way of the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain, and that a small log fort be built at the carrying place between Wood Creek, at the head of the lake, and the Hudson River. His next move would be to seize Albany, descend the Hudson, and capture Manatte, or New York. The plan of de Callieres included the stationing of two warships at the mouth of the Hudson to prevent the sending of aid from Boston, or England. The King was pleased

with the plan and ordered that it be carried into execution. Meanwhile the Iroquois had ravaged the Canadian settlements and threatened the very existence of the colony. Carrying out the orders of the King of France, in response to the suggestion of de Callieres, a party of 210 men was fitted out including ninety-six Algonquin and Huron Indians, with Sieur de St. Helene and Lieutenant de Mantet in command. The party left Montreal about the middle of January, 1690, and crossed Lake Champlain on the ice. Following the advice of the Indian allies, Schenectady was made the objective point. Late on a bitterly cold night the war whoop was raised in the streets of the town. No warning had been given, the guards having been withdrawn on account of the severity of the weather. The French under de Mantet captured and burned the small fort, putting the garrison to the sword, while de St. Helene and his party battered down the barricaded doors of the houses with clubbed muskets. For two hours the slaughter continued, sixty persons being killed, including women and children. Having burned every house in the village but two, the attacking party started for Canada, taking twenty-seven prisoners, fifty horses, and other spoils of war. News of the massacre speedily reached Albany, and a party of 50 Englishmen and 150 Mohawks was collected. The Englishmen proceeded no farther than Crown Point, but the Indians followed their enemies into Canada, where a detachment that had fallen behind the main body was surprised, six being killed and twelve taken prisoners.

On their return trip the French found that the provisions left by the way had spoiled and their condition became so desperate that the soldiers boiled their moccasins with potatoes to satisfy their hunger.

On March 26, 1690, a small party of English and Indians under Capt. Jacob de Warm proceeded to Crown Point from Albany, to watch the enemy. On March 30, Capt. Abram Schuyler, with a few Englishmen and a party of Mohawks, was sent to the mouth of Otter Creek to watch for the approach of a hostile force from the north. Captain Schuyler went as far as Chambly with a scouting party, killing two Frenchmen and taking one prisoner.

Believing that the safety of the British colonies depended upon an invasion of Canada, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York agreed upon a joint expedition, and Gen. John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, was made commander. A naval expedition under Sir William Phipps was fitted out to attack Quebec. About August 1, 800 men left Albany under command of General Winthrop. Arriving at Wood Creek, at the southern end of Lake Champlain, Winthrop waited several days, and the Indians having failed to furnish reinforcements or canoes for the passage of the lake, he called a council of war, which voted that it was not expedient to continue the proposed invasion of Canada.

Capt. John Schuyler, grandfather of Gen. Philip Schuyler, of Revolutionary War fame, was an officer under Winthrop, and being dissatisfied with the action of the council of war he attempted the organization of a little invasion of his own. Assembling twenty-nine of his fellow countrymen and 120 Indians, he proceeded by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River to Laprairie. Secreting their canoes, the party concealed themselves in the forest on the border of the settlement. As the French started out to cut corn, on the morning of August 23, Schuyler's band fell upon them, killing six men and taking nineteen prisoners, with a loss of only one Indian. All

the houses and barns outside the fort were burned and 150 cattle were killed. The raiders then retreated in haste to avoid capture by relief parties from Chambly and Montreal. On the return trip, August 24, they stopped at Isle La Motte. Captain Schuyler, in his journal, speaks of stopping at the "Little Stone Fort," which may have been a slight fortification thrown up at or near Crown Point earlier the same year by Captain de Warm. The matter of the de Warm fort is an obscure one. It has been claimed that he built a fort on the Vermont shore at a very early date, but evidence is lacking to substantiate this assertion.

On June 22, 1691, Maj. Peter Schuyler, with 150 English troops and 300 Indians, traversed the same route taken by his brother, Capt. John Schuyler, the previous year; surprised and captured Laprairie, killing several of its defenders; fought a desperate battle with a French force under Governor de Callieries, largely outnumbering his own, which he defeated with a loss of about 200 killed and wounded, his own being slight; and retreated safely to Albany.

Encouraged by the success of the British arms the Iroquois again harassed the French settlements until another expedition was considered necessary to teach the Mohawks a needed lesson. De Frontenac therefore assembled a force of 600 or 700 French and Indians at Montreal, and about the middle of January, 1693, the expedition set out, marching over the ice of Lake Champlain, across the intervening country, and fell upon the Mohawk villages beyond Schenectady. Many of the inhabitants were killed, and more than 300 prisoners were taken. A speedy retreat was made, but Major Schuyler with a force of 300 men, hastily assembled, pursued as far as the Hudson and recaptured about fifty of the prisoners A

severe blizzard prevented the crossing of the river. The French suffered terrible privations on this expedition and it is said that their Indian allies devoured the dead bodies of their enemies.

After the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, a formal treaty was made between the French and the Iroquois.

In 1702 the conflict known as Queen Anne's War was begun. In 1704 a party of 300 French and Indians commanded by the cruel de Rouville, followed Lake Champlain to the Winooski River, which they ascended, crossed the Green Mountains, and, reaching the Connecticut River, descended that stream and burned the Massachusetts town of Deerfield. Four years later a party of 400 French and Indians again crossed the Green Mountains and burned Haverhill.

The French became so aggressive that the British ministry in 1709, on the urgent representations of the colonies, decided to attack Canada. A naval demonstration against Quebec was planned, while it was decided that 1,500 men from New York and New England, under Colonel Nicholson, were to march upon Montreal by way of Lake Champlain. The Iroquois sent 500 men as their quota. New York aided the cause by opening a road from Albany to Lake Champlain. Governor Vaudreuil, of Canada, called a council of war, which decided to send a force of 1,500 men to oppose the British advance, but dissensions among the officers prevented the consummation of the plans for a Canadian invasion.

Another attack upon Canada was planned in 1711, and Colonel Nicholson assembled at Albany 2,000 British troops, 1,000 Germans, and 1,000 Indians. On August 28. the march towards Lake Champlain was begun, the Lake George route being taken. At the same time 6,400 men under General Hill sailed from Boston on sixty-eight

transports, for an attack on Quebec. A sudden storm scattered the fleet. Eight ships were wrecked, and according to Charlevoix, nearly 3,000 men were drowned. This disheartening news reached Nicholson's troops at Lake George, and the expedition was abandoned.

In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, by the terms of which France released her nominal sovereignty over the Iroquois, and recognized the dominance of Great Britain.

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It was not until 1731 that the French fortified a post on Lake Champlain. In that year Marquis de Beauharnois being governor-general of Canada, a fort was erected at Crown Point, which was called St. Frederic, in honor of Frederic de Maurepas, the French secretary of state. This was only a small stockade, designed to accommodate thirty men. In 1734 it gave place to a fortress large enough for 120 men, and in 1742 it was enlarged and strengthened, being then, with the exception of Quebec, the strongest French fortress in America.

In October, 1748, Lieutenant Desligneris, a French officer, wrote to the governor of New York complaining that certain Indians, said to be subjects of Great Britain, had recently come to Montreal with a message, and had "treacherously killed and carried off some Frenchmen from Isle La Motte."

For the greater part of a century these forays continued with occasional cessation. Parkman has said: "Through the midst of the great Canadian wilderness stretched Lake Champlain, pointing straight to the heart of the British settlements—a watery thoroughfare of neutral attack and the only approach by which, without a long detour, by wilderness or sea, a hostile army could come within striking distance of the colony."

A long diplomatic controversy was waged between France and Great Britain over the country around Lake Champlain, the French maintaining their claim by right of discovery, and the British by virtue of sovereignty over the Iroquois country.

Very little actual colonization was done by the French along Lake Champlain, apart from the military posts. About 1731 a settlement was begun at Pointe à la Algonquin, later known as Windmill Point, in the western part of the present town of Alburgh. Sieur Francois Foucault, a member of the supreme council of Quebec, had been granted a charter by the King of France, and this charter was renewed and augmented in May, 1743. This action was taken in recognition of the fact that M. Foucault had, as the charter of confirmation states, complied with the conditions of the original grant by establishing three new settlers in addition to eight who had settled the previous year; and that he had built in that year (1731) a windmill of stone masonry, which cost nearly 4,000 livres (about $800). He had taken steps to build a church, 20 by 40 feet in size, which was to be ready the next spring to receive a missionary. A lot of land, two acres in front by forty acres in depth, had been conveyed, free of charge, and accepted by the Bishop of Quebec, whereon should be built a church and a parochial house, with room for a burial ground, and land that should aid in the maintenance of a missionary. This settlement was short lived, as was another begun here in 1741. Later M. Foucault transferred his grant to Gen. Frederick Haldimand, British government of Canada from 1778 to 1784. General Haldimand, in turn, sold the property to Henry Caldwell, who lived in Bellmont, a town near Quebec, and for several years thereafter the present town of Alburgh was known as Caldwell's Upper Manor.

Although few actual settlements were made by the French in the Champlain valley, there were many grants by the French crown, similar to Foucault's concession. Nearly all the land surrounding the lake was granted to various individuals, in many instances to army officers and Canadian officials. The first public record bearing on this subject is an order issued by the King, dated May 20, 1676, and authorizing such grants on Lake Champlain. One of the largest of these grants, or seigniories, was made on October 7, 1743, to Gilles Hocquart, intendant of Canada from 1728 to 1748, at one time councillor of state and intendant of the naval forces at Brest. According to an early map, printed at Albany by Richard H. Pease, this seigniory appears to have included the present towns of Panton, Addison, Waltham, New Haven, Weybridge, and portions of Bridport, Cornwall, Middlebury, and Bristol. In a communication from the British Board of Trade, addressed to the committee of the Privy Council, the lordship of Hocquart is estimated to contain about 115,000 acres. In 1764 it was transferred to Michael Chartier de Lotbiniere, and in 1758 Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor general of Canada, granted to Lotbiniere who had laid out the fortress of Ticonderoga, the seigniory of Alainville, embracing more than four leagues in front and five leagues in depth, lying partly on Lake George, and partly on Lake Champlain.

Among other grants was one made to M. Contrecoeur, Jr., July 7, 1734, "on the borders of Lake Champlain, beginning at the mouth of the Riviere aux Loutres [Otter Creek] one league and a half above, and one league and a half below, making two leagues in front by three in depth, together with so much of said Riviere aux Loutres as is found therein, with those islands or islets which are in front of said concession and depend

thereon." This grant probably included the present towns of Ferrisburgh and Monkton, the city of Vergennes and portions of Panton, Waltham, New Haven, and Bristol. On July 6, 1734, a grant was made to Sieur de La Perriere, one league above and one league below the River Ouinouski (Winooski). Captain La Perriere was an officer stationed at the castle of Quebec, who became governor of Montreal in 1752. This seigniory included a part or all of the present city of Burlington.

The next grant, lying to the north, was made to M. Raimbault. There is on record a deed of sale made in Montreal, bearing the date of September 27, 1766, by which the heirs of M. Pierre Raimbault, "in his lifetime lieutenant general for His Most Christian Majesty of the Jurisdiction of this City [Montreal]" transferred the seigniory of La Maunadiere to Benjamin Price, Daniel Robertson, and John Livingston. The price agreed upon was 90,000 livres (about $18,000), "current money of the province," half of which was to be paid in gold and silver, and half in merchandise at the prices then current in Montreal. This was one of the first recorded land transfers in northern Vermont. The text of this deed is published in the manuscript relating to the French claims, in the New York State Papers and the compiler has added a marginal note to the effect that Burlington is situated on a part of the seigniory of La Maunadiere. This would seem to be an error, however, as the De Lery map, made in Quebec in October, 1748, by M. Anger, the King's surveyor, shows M. Raimbault's grant to have extended from a point near the head of Malletts Bay, on the south, to a point on the north, apparently in the present town of Georgia. The deed of sales states that the southern boundary of the Raimbault grant is the seigniory granted to La Perriere, which lay a league above and a

league below the mouth of the Winooski River. This would indicate that the southern boundary of the seigniory of La Maunadiere was several miles north of the present line between Burlington and Colchester. A grant to M. Douville seems to have included parts of Georgia, St. Albans, Fairfax, and Fairfield; while another made to M. de Beauvais, Jr., included Highgate and parts of Swanton, Franklin, and Sheldon. Isle Longue, or North Hero, was granted to M. Contrecoeur, Sr.

On April 10, 1733, a grant of "two leagues or two and a half in front, by three in depth, along the river Chambly and Lake Champlain, together with the river Chazy included therein and Isle à la Motte," was made to Sieur Pean, major of the town and castle of Quebec and member of the superior council of that city. This grant included the northern part of the present town of Champlain and it was transferred on May 2, 1754, to Daniel Lienard, Sieur de Beaujeu, who owned the seigniory immediately north. Both Contrecoeur and Beaujeu were prominent in the operations around Fort Duquesne, and the latter lost his life in the battle which resulted in General Braddock's defeat and death at the beginning of the French and Indian War. Grants a little to the south of Beaujeu's seigniories were made to Sieur St. Vincent, ensign of foot, and to Sieur La Gauchetiere, a captain of marines. Sieur Roebert, the King's storekeeper at Montreal, received a grant of two and one-half leagues above the Boquet River, and one league below.

It is difficult to give the exact limits of any of these grants, as the early maps were far from accurate in many particulars, and the boundaries as shown on different maps are not always the same. Most of these grants, being unimproved, reverted to the crown by virtue of an order issued at Quebec, May 10, 1741, by the governor,

the Marquis de Beauharnois. As might have been expected this order was not accepted everywhere in a spirit of meekness. The protests received show more clearly, perhaps, than any other records the fact that under conditions then existing the attempts to colonize the Champlain valley with French settlers was a hopeless and a thankless task. For example, Sieurs Contrecoeur and La Perriere maintained "that it was impossible to find individuals willing to accept lands, though they offered them some on very advantageous terms, and were willing to give even 300 livres to engage the said individuals." Sieur La Fontaine offered "to give to those whom he will find willing to settle there grain and even money, asking from them no rent, in order to obtain from them by the allurement of this gift what he cannot obtain by force." Sieur Roebert wrote that he had "neglected nothing to induce some young farmers to go and settle there by procuring for them great advantages and many facilities."

It appeared, however, that neither the "great advantages" nor the "many facilities" offered by Sieur Roebert, not even the "allurements" of Sieur La Fontaine, were sufficiently advantageous and alluring to tempt many young farmers to the French grants, and thus save to the proprietors their seigniories, which could not be retained if they remained unoccupied. It was much easier for the King of France "graciously to bestow" these seigniories, than it was for the favorites upon whom they were bestowed to persuade settlers to live upon them. The Champlain valley had not been a popular place for home seekers, long before the white man came; and the young farmers, realizing that a pathway for war parties was not likely to be a safe home for their wives and children, or a comfortable place for themselves, and having a lively desire to keep their scalps on their own heads, looked else-

where for land. Moreover, the heart of the French people was not in the work of attempting to colonize America. Had the rulers of France left undone some of the things which they did in Europe, and set themselves earnestly to the task of improving and colonizing their vast possessions in the New World, then the history of America might have been written in a different manner, and, perhaps in a different language.

About the time that the French were making grants around Lake Champlain the governor of New York issued a proclamation, setting forth in an attractive fashion the beauty and fertility of the region lying between the Hudson River and Lake Champlain, and offering liberal terms to settlers. A copy of this proclamation fell into the hands of Capt. Laughlin Campbell, of Scotland, who came to America, examined the land advertised, and being pleased with the prospect sold his estate, and at his own expense brought across the sea eighty-three families of Protestant Highlanders, including 423 adults and many children. Pursuing a very short-sighted policy, the officials of the colony of New York refused to grant the 30,000 acres promised unless they were allowed what in modern times is called "a rake-off." This the sturdy Scotch captain resolutely refused to give, and he departed, ruined in fortune, while many of the Highlanders enlisted on an expedition to Carthagena.

The largest of the early settlements on the lake, including the strongest fortress—Fort St. Frederic—was at Crown Point. The lake here is only about two-fifths of a mile wide, and the settlement included the east shore, known later as Chimney Point. Probably the best description of Fort St. Frederic at an early period is that given by Prof. Peter Kalm, a Swedish traveler who, upon

his return to Europe, published an account of his experience in America.

Kalm, after a rather narrow escape from a band of Indians, arrived at the fort on July 2, 1749, and was cordially received by the French commandant, M. Lusignan. He records the fact that a severe drouth prevailed, no rain having fallen since spring. As a result the grass and small trees had withered, and the corn, wheat, and peas had been retarded in their growth. At that early date forest fires were numerous every year, and the writer attributes them to carelessness of Indian hunters.

Kalm describes the fort as follows: "Fort St. Frederic is a fortification on the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, situated on a neck of land, between the lake and the river which arises from the union of the river Wood Creek and Lake St. Sacrement. [The writer considers the narrow part of the lake south of Crown Point as a river.] The breadth of this river is here about a good musket shot. The English call this fortress Crown Point, but its French name is derived from the French secretary of state, Frederic Maurepas, in whose hands the direction and management of the French court of admiralty was at the time of the erection of this fort, * * *. As most of the places in Canada bear the name of saints, custom has made it necessary to prefix the word Saint to the name of the fortress.

"The fort is built on a rock consisting of black lime slates as aforesaid; it is nearly quadrangular, has high, thick walls, made of the same limestone, of which there is a quarry about half a mile from the fort. On the eastern part of the fort is a high tower, which is proof against bomb shells, provided with very thick and substantial walls, and well stored with cannon from the bottom almost to the very top; and the governor lives in the tower. In

the terre-plein of the fort is a well built little church, and houses of stone for the officers and soldiers.

"There are sharp rocks on all sides towards the land. * * * The soil about Fort Frederic is said to be very fertile on both side of the river; and before the last war a good many French families, especially old soldiers, have settled there; but the King obliged them to go into Canada, or to settle close to the fort and to lie in it at night. A great number of them returned at this time, and it was thought that about forty or fifty families would go to settle here this autumn.

"Within one or two musket shots to the east of the fort is a windmill built of stone, with very thick walls, and most of the flour which is wanted to supply the fort is ground here. This windmill is so contrived as to serve the purpose of a redoubt, and at the top of it are five or six small pieces of cannon. During the last war there was a number of soldiers quartered in this mill, because they could from thence look a great way up the river, and observe whether the English boats approached, which could not be done from the fort itself." The "last war," refers to such hostilities in America as grew out of the fierce War of the Austrian Succession, which deluged Europe with blood.

The writer's description of the life of the soldiers and the settlers is a graphic protrayal of conditions as they existed. He says: "The soldiers which had been paid off after the war had built houses round the fort on the grounds allotted to them; but most of these habitations were no more than wretched cottages, no better than those in the most wretched places of Sweden; with the difference, however, that their inhabitants here were rarely oppressed by hunger, and could eat good and pure wheat bread. The huts which they had erected consisted of

boards, standing perpendicularly close to each other. The roofs were of wood too. The crevices were stopped up with clay; to keep the room warm. The floor was commonly clay or a black limestone, which is common here. The hearth was built of the same stone except the place where the fire was to ly [lie]; which was made of grey sandstone, which for the greatest part consist of particles of quartz. * * * They had no glass in their windows. * * * The horses are left out of doors during the winter and find their food in the woods, living upon nothing but dry plants, which are very abundant; however, they do not fall off by this food, but look very fine and plump in spring.

"The soldiers enjoy such advantages here as they are not allowed in every part of the world. Those who formed the garrison of this place had a very plentiful allowance from the government. They get every day a pound and a half of wheat bread. They likewise get peas, bacon, and salt meat in plenty. Sometimes they kill oxen and other cattle, the flesh of which is distributed among the soldiers. All the officers kept cows at the expense of the King, and the milk they gave was more than sufficient to supply them. The soldiers had each a small garden without the fort, which they were allowed to attend, and plant in it whatever they liked, and some of them had built summer houses in them and planted all kinds of pot herbs. The governor told me that it was a general custom to allow the soldiers a spot of ground for kitchen gardens at such of the French forts hereabouts as were not situated near great towns, from whence they could be supported with greens. In time of peace the soldiers had very little trouble with being upon guard at the fort; and as the lake close by it is full of fish, and the woods abound with birds and animals, those amongst them who choose to

be diligent may live extremely well, and very grand in regard to food.

"Each soldier got a new coat every two years; but annually a waistcoat, cap, hat, breeches, cravat, two pairs of stockings, two pairs of shoes, and as much wood as he had occasion for in winter. They likewise got five sols [sous, a coin worth about one cent] apiece every day; which is augmented to thirty sols [sous] when they have any particular labour for the King. When this is considered, it is not surprising to find the men are very fresh, well fed, strong, and lively here.

"When a soldier falls sick he is brought to the hospital, where the King provides him with a bed, food, medicines and people to take care of and serve him. * * * The soldiers who are sent hither from France commonly serve till they are forty or fifty years old, after which they are dismissed and allowed to settle upon and cultivate a piece of ground. * * * The King presents each dismissed soldier with a piece of land being commonly forty arpents long, and but three broad [an arpent is about 2,346 English feet and 8 inches long], if the soil be of equal goodness throughout, but they get somewhat more of it if it be a worse ground. As soon as a soldier settles to cultivate such a piece of land he is at first assisted by the King, who supplies himself, his wife and children with provisions during the three or four first years. The King likewise gives him a cow, and the most necessary instruments for agriculture. Some soldiers are sent to assist him in building a house, for which the King pays them. * * * The land which was allotted to the soldiers about this place was very good, consisting throughout of a deep mould, mixed with clay."

Kalm tells of the building of three kinds of boats: Bark boats; canoes, hollowed out of white fir; and

bateaux, large and flat bottomed for cargoes. He adds "They make plenty of tar and pitch here."

Kalm and his party left Fort St. Frederic, for the north, July 19, on the first sailing yacht built on the lake, which, that year, made regular trips from the fort to St. Johns, Governor Lusignan giving them ample provisions for the journey. The Swedish traveler found the country inhabited for a French mile north of the fort, but after that the shores were covered with dense forests. The owner and captain of the yacht had taken soundings of the lake in order to make navigation more safe.

As Kalm approached the northern end of the lake he saw a few houses on the western side, probably at Point au Fer, abandoned by the French "before the late war," but now occupied again. He says, "These were the first houses and settlements which we saw after we had left those about Fort St. Frederic." He was shown on the eastern side of the lake a place overgrown with trees where a wooden fort formerly stood, near the water's edge, built to prevent Indian incursions, and was told that "many Frenchmen had been slain in these places." Kalm also saw a windmill of stone on the east side of the lake on a point of land, evidently in the present town of Alburgh, on what is known as Windmill Point. Some Frenchmen had lived near it, but had left when war broke out, and had not returned. He was informed that houses here had been burned several times by the English and their Indian allies.

After passing Windmill Point, and entering the Richelieu, Kalm says: "We saw at first a few scattered cottages along the shore; but a little further the country is inhabited without interruption." At St. Johns he found a wooden fort, built in 1748 to protect the surrounding country, and to serve as a magazine for provisions and

ammunition sent to Fort St. Frederic. In 1748, 200 men had been stationed here, but at this time the garrison consisted of the governor, Chevalier de Gannes, brother-in-law of M. Lusignan, governor of Fort St. Frederic; also a commissary, a baker, and six soldiers.

It is said that as early as 1730 the French constructed a small fort at Chimney Point, opposite Fort St. Frederic. Hon. John Strong, writing of this settlement in an article on the town of Addison, for Hemenway's *Vermont Gazetteer*, says: "Within the enclosure was a neat church, and throughout the settlement well cultivated gardens, with some good fruit, as apples, plums, currents, etc. These settlements extended north on the lake some four miles, the remnants of old cellars and gardens, still to be seen, show a more thickly settled street than occupies it now [about 1850]." While the cultivated area in this vicinity may have been extended considerably between Kalm's visit and the English conquest, accounting for the discrepancy of settlements that extended one mile and those that extended four miles, it is hardly probable that there was a fort at Chimney Point large enough to contain a church. It is more likely that the church referred to was the chapel at Fort St. Frederic.

Maj. Robert Rogers, the famous scout, undoubtedly refers to the Chimney Point settlement when he writes in his journal, under date of May 5, 1756, of an expedition made by a detachment under his command to a village on the east side of the lake, about two miles from Crown Point, where he found no inhabitants. Evidently, with the outbreak of active warfare, the Chimney Point settlement was abandoned. A little earlier in this same year, on February 29, Rogers makes an entry in his journal telling of farms in the vicinity of Crown Point, stocked with cattle, and several barns filled with grain, which, together

with some houses, he burned. Again, under date of August 29, 1756, Rogers writes of the capture of a Frenchman with his wife and daughters, the man saying that "there were only three hundred men at Crown Point, and these chiefly the inhabitants of the adjacent villages."

These settlements, the most important established by the French in this valley, were wholly dependent on the military post, and they vanished as soon as the soldiers of France withdrew from Lake Champlain.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR A CONTINENT

THE conflict known in Europe as the Seven Years War, but in America as the French and Indian War, was made notable in the Old World by the powerful nations involved, and the important issues at stake. The result of the struggle meant even more to the New World than to Europe, however, for here the development of a continent depended in no small measure upon the fortunes of war. John Richard Green, the English historian, says of this war, which followed the alliance between Great Britain and Prussia: "No war has had greater results in the history of the world, or brought greater triumphs to England, but few have had more disastrous beginnings." France apparently was succeeding in the establishment of an empire in India, and in preventing the British power in America from expanding farther to the west than the Alleghany Mountains. The prestige of France never seemed greater, while the fortunes of Britain appeared to be waning. The armies of England had suffered serious reverses on the continent. At the head of the government was the incompetent Duke of Newcastle. Troops available for American warfare were few.

In any plan of campaign for the new provinces across the Atlantic the Champlain valley was sure to be counted as one of the great strategic points. For years this region had been a bone of contention between the foreign offices of France and Great Britain. The Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713, declared that the Iroquois were subject to British dominion, but the French diplomats maintained

that dominion simply meant control over the Indians themselves, and not over their lands. The occupation of Crown Point by the French and the building of Fort St. Frederic were regarded by Great Britain as gross violations of the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. The British claimed authority, not only over the Champlain valley, but over all the lands west of the Ottawa River and the Alleghany Mountains, as far as the Mississippi, the "Father of Waters."

The arbitrament of war had followed diplomatic contests and finally the fighting ceased for a time with the signing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748—"a mere truce forced on the contending powers by sheer exhaustion," says Green. The terms provided that affairs were to remain unchanged until a commission to be appointed should adjust the boundaries between the French and the British possessions.

Notwithstanding the terms of this solemn agreement both nations soon began attempts to seize and to hold the fertile valley of the Ohio. In the spring of 1753 M. Duquesne, governor of Canada, sent a French force to occupy the Ohio valley, and Fort Le Boeuf was built on French Creek. Late in this same year of 1753 a young Virginian, adjutant general of the colonial militia, named George Washington, made his first appearance as an active figure in American history. Appointed as a messenger for Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, he undertook a perilous journey to the French post, warning the commander that he was encroaching on British territory. Early in 1754 some Virginians began the construction of a fort at the forks of the Ohio, but were driven off by a French force under M. Contrecoeur, who commenced the building of Fort Duquesne, which was completed in May, 1755.

The French now held three strong and strategic positions: Fort Niagara, commanding the St. Lawrence route; Fort St. Frederic, guarding Lake Champlain, the natural highway from Canada to New England and the Hudson region; and Fort Duquesne, on the present site of Pittsburgh, where the Allegheny and the Monongahela unite to form the Ohio, leading into the heart of the Mississippi valley. The control of these posts, to quote Green again, "threatened to cut off the English colonies from any possibility of extension over the prairies of the West."

The year 1755 saw the arrival of a French army at Quebec under the veteran soldier, Baron Dieskau, with Marquis Vaudreuil as governor of Canada to succeed Duquesne; also a British force in Virginia under General Braddock.

Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock had been chosen by the Duke of Cumberland as commander of the American expedition. The son of a major general, he had received his military training in the Coldstream Guards, counted as the very flower of the British army. Arriving in February with two regiments, Braddock soon called a conference of all the governors of the English colonies to meet at Alexandria, Va. This meeting was held on April 14, and plans were laid to check the French encroachments and, if possible, to drive them from the continent. With this end in view, it was decided that General Braddock should cauture Fort Duquesne; that Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, who had held a position of leadership in colonial affairs, should undertake the reduction of Fort Niagara; and that an army of provincial troops under William Johnson should attack Crown Point.

Fort Duquesne was occupied by a few companies of French regulars, some Canadian troops, and about 800

Indians, all being under command of M. Contrecoeur. The roll of Braddock's officers contained names destined at a later period to become famous in American history. George Washington was on his staff. Col. Thomas Gage, who commanded the British troops at the outbreak of the American Revolution, led the advance. Horatio Gates was in the service.

On the approach of Braddock, de Beaujeu had been sent out with 600 Indians and 300 French troops to form an ambush. Into this ambush the British troops marched, with disastrous results, although the French victory was purchased at the cost of de Beaujeu's life. Colonel Gage was wounded. Governor Shirley's son was killed. Braddock was fatally wounded and died soon after, his body being buried in the road that the marching of his retreating soldiers might hide all traces of his grave. The papers of the British commander were captured, thus revealing his plan of campaign. An attempt was made to keep the news of this disaster from the provincial troops at Albany.

Governor Shirley, who became commander-in-chief upon the death of Braddock, pushed on through swamp and forest, toward Niagara, building forts on the way. His men, however, became discouraged. There was a lack of boats with which to cross Lake Ontario, and the campaign was abandoned. Men were left to strengthen the forts constructed, but Shirley returned to Albany.

Thus two of the three military expeditions planned by the council of governors had failed, one disastrously.

Early in the year 1755, before Braddock had reached America, Governor Shirley had laid plans for an attack on Crown Point and had selected William Johnson for commander of the expedition. This appointment was

confirmed at the conference of governors at Alexandria in April.

Johnson was an Irishman who had been sent to America some twenty years before this time by his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, to look after lands in the Mohawk valley owned by the Admiral. He had won the confidence of the Iroquois and had been made Indian superintendent by the British authorities. The appointment was an extraordinary one. A man without actual experience in warfare, never having been in the military service, was designated to lead an army in an effort to capture an important post.

Following Johnson's appointment as commander he called a great Indian council at his stone castle on the Mohawk, and more than 1,100 savages accepted his invitation. After an abundant feast a formal agreement was made to aid the British in the impending conflict. It is said, however, that out of all who partook of Johnson's bounty, only about 300 Indians actually rendered military service.

In July a large number of provincial troops and some Indians assembled at Albany, and later advanced to the portage from the Hudson River to Lake George near the present site of the village of Fort Edward. The greater part of the troops came from New England, and here Gen. Phineas Lyman, of Connecticut, second in command, began the construction of a work of defense which he called Fort Lyman after himself.

Military discipline was not of the strictest sort. The organization was weak and progress was slow. Five legislatures controlled the troops and voted the supplies. There was jealously and dissension. The ill feeling between General Johnson and Governor Shirley added to the existing complications.

The New Hampshire forces had crossed the region now known as Vermont, John Stark being a lieutenant in the colonial service. Ephraim Williams, founder of Williams College, was a Massachusetts colonel. Timothy Ruggles afterward president of the Stamp Act Congress, commanded another Massachusetts regiment, and Israel Putnam was a private in the Connecticut troops.

Late in August a council of war voted to call on the colonies for reinforcements. On August 26, 2,000 men were ordered to Lake George as that body of water was soon to be called, fourteen miles distant, while 500 men remained to complete Fort Lyman and garrison it.

The French troops were commanded by General Dieskau, who had won distinction in the European wars as the adjutant of the famous Marshal Saxe. It had been planned that Dieskau should go to Oswego, on Lake Ontario, but owing to the British activity in the vicinity of Lake Champlain he was ordered to proceed to Crown Point. Before his arrival at Fort Frederic the French force at that post had consisted of about 800 soldiers and some Indians. Dieskau now had 3,573 men, including the battalions of La Reine and Languedoc, detachments of the troops of the Marine, artillerymen and bombardiers, 1,412 Canadian troops, and about 600 Indians from various tribes. Bancroft says that the French had "called every able-bodied man in the district of Montreal into active service for the defense of Crown Point, so that reapers had to be sent up from Three Rivers and Quebec to gather in the harvest."

The French commander did not wait at Fort Frederic to be attacked. That fortification had begun to decay and no longer was formidable. Leaving a strong detachment there, and another at Carillon, or Ticonderoga, Dieskau pushed on to the south toward the enemy. On

September 4 an English prisoner was taken, and being threatened with torture he risked telling the French general a deliberate falsehood, to the effect that Johnson had retreated to Albany, leaving only 500 men at Fort Lyman. Immediately Dieskau embarked in canoes with a force of about 1,500 men, 215 regulars, 684 Canadians, and not far from 600 Indians under the command of Chevalier de Saint-Pierre, a force far greater in numbers than in actual strength. Arriving at South Bay, at the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, the French army started through the forest toward Fort Lyman. Johnson commanded the larger force, having 2,200 effective men, and 300 Indians. His main army had arrived on September 3 at Lake St. Sacrement, a name given to that beautiful body of water more than a century before this time by the pious Jesuit missionary and martyr, Father Isaac Jogues, who had reached its shores on the eve of the blessed feast of Pentecost. The British commander now decreed that the lake should be called Lake George, "not only in honor of His Majesty, but to ascertain his undoubted dominion."

Johnson was notified by an Indian scout of the approach of the French army on the morning of September 8. It had been planned to send 500 men toward Fort Lyman and the same number toward South Bay, but with the approach of Dieskau, plans were hastily changed. About 9 o'clock in the morning Colonel Williams at the head of his regiment, and 200 Indians, led by Hendrick, a famous Mohawk chieftan, now so old and feeble that it was necessary to place him on horseback, advanced to meet the foe.

Dieskau had captured a messenger to Fort Lyman and learned that that post was garrisoned by a considerable force and defended by twelve cannon. Thereupon the

Indians had declared their unwillingness to attack a fort so well defended by artillery, and it was decided to turn back toward Lake Champlain. Scouts soon came in with the news of the approach of Williams' detachment, and an ambush was formed in a narrow and rocky defile, about three miles from Johnson's camp.

Into this trap Williams marched without suspicion of danger. Suddenly a galling fire was opened from the front and on both flanks. Colonel Williams was shot through the brain and died instantly. The aged chieftain Hendrick was killed by a bayonet thrust. For a short time a panic prevailed among the British troops, but Lieut. Col. Nathan Whiting, of the Connecticut militia, rallied the shattered forces and skilfully extricated them from their perilous position.

Had Dieskau been able immediately to follow up his advantage it is highly probable that he would have won a notable victory. He had with him only a few French regulars, and the Canadian troops were of little service in such a crisis, many of them pleading fatigue. The Indian allies became unmanageable. Their commander, Saint-Pierre, had been killed, and no other French officer was able to control the savages. It is said that not more than a third of Dieskau's small army actually took part in the attack upon Johnson's position.

The British commander had allowed the pleasant summer days to pass, while his men idled the time away, and now, in his hour of need, he had no entrenchments. When the noise of firing was heard, as Williams was attacked, a hasty barricade was formed of wagons and bateaux turned upside down, upon which trees were felled, making a rude abatis. A few pieces of cannon were brought up from the shore of Lake George, and 500 men were detached to guard the flanks of this posi-

tion, which were protected on either side by swamps that could not be passed. Lieutenant Colonel Cole had been sent forward to meet the fugitives and aided in checking the French advance.

Shortly before noon Dieskau's regulars advanced, firing by platoons. When the British opened with their artillery the Indians and Canadian allies fled to the shelter of the forest, leaving the regulars to wage the contest alone. While the battle was at its height part of the Canadians and Indians returned to the scene of the ambush to strip the dead. There, near Bloody Pond, as it was called in later years, they were attacked and driven from the field by a British scouting party from Fort Lyman.

Meanwhile Dieskau and his few faithful regulars had made a desperate attack upon the British center, without success. An attempt was made upon the left, in which Colonel Titcomb, of the provincial army was killed, but the assault was repulsed. Early in the action General Johnson received a flesh wound in the thigh and retired to his tent, the command devolving upon General Lyman, who conducted the defense with good judgment.

About 4 o'clock in the afternoon the colonial soldiers leaped over their defenses, and charged the French troops, who broke and fled. Dieskau was shot in the leg, and while his wound was being dressed he was shot again in the knee and the thigh. He seated himself behind a tree and ordered his adjutants to lead the regulars in a last charge, but the advance of the victorious New Englanders could not be checked. The French commander soon was shot a third time, across the hips, and, desperately wounded, was taken to the tent of General Johnson, a prisoner, where his wounds were dressed. The Mo-

hawks, enraged at the death of Hendrick, sought to kill Dieskau, but he was protected by his captors.

Near nightfall, as a party of 300 French soldiers, which had rallied, were retreating in an orderly manner, about two miles from Lake George, they were attacked by about 200 New Hampshire men, led by an officer named Macginnes, who was marching from Fort Lyman. Macginnes was killed, but the French fled in confusion, abandoning their baggage.

Authorities differ regarding the losses. Parkman says the colonial troops lost 262 in killed, wounded and missing, and the French 228. Bancroft says the Americans lost 216 killed and 96 wounded, the French loss being not much greater. Among the French officers killed perhaps the most famous was Chevalier de Saint-Pierre, leader of the Indian allies. He was in command at Fort Le Boeuf, in the Ohio valley, in 1753, when George Washington was sent out by Governor Dinwiddie to challenge the French occupation of that region. In writing of the French and Indian War, John Fiske says that the interview between Saint-Pierre and Washington "was the opening scene of this great drama."

As soon as Dieskau was able he was removed to Albany, and thence to New York. Later he was taken to England, and after being kept there for a time was sent to France. He never recovered entirely from the effect of his wounds, and died a few years after returning to his native land.

The French retreated as far as Ticonderoga, M. de Montreuil, assuming command, and there they proceeded to fortify themselves. General Lyman desired to follow the success already won by an attack upon the French camp, and had his advice been followed immediately after the battle at Lake George, it is probable that the result

would have been disastrous for the scattered regiments which Dieskau had led into battle. Governor Shirley also urged an attack upon Ticonderoga, but Johnson declined to accept these suggestions, and two weeks after their defeat the French had entrenched themselves so strongly in their new position that the capture of their works would have been a difficult task. Johnson spent the remainder of the season in building Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George. It consisted of wooden barracks surrounded by an embankment and a moat, and was located on an elevation near the site of the temporary fortification attacked by Dieskau. On November 27 Johnson went into winter quarters, leaving 600 men as a garrison, having dismissed the New England militia.

Johnson appears to have been jealous of his second in command. He changed the name of Fort Lyman to Fort Edward, and in his official report of the battle he did not mention the name of the man who actually won the victory. Johnson was made a baronet, was voted five thousand pounds by Parliament, and was granted by the bounty of the King 110,000 acres on the north bank of the Mohawk. Lyman received nothing.

Although fighting had been in progress for nearly a year, war was not formally declared between Great Britain and France until early in the summer of 1756.

Marquis de Montcalm, a talented officer, then about forty-four years old, had been sent out to succeed Dieskau. With him came the Chevaliers de Levis and de Bourlamaque, as second and third in command, respectively, Bougainville being principal aide-de-camp. The French now held Forts Carillon, Frontenac, and Niagara.

Governor Vaudreuil sent an eminent engineer, M. de Lotbiniere, to Ticonderoga to examine the place as a pos-

sible site for a fort. He reported that it was "one of the best adapted for the construction of works capable of checking the enemy; that the suitable place for a fortification is a rock which crowns all the environs, whence guns could command both the river which runs from Lake St. Sacrement and that leading to the Grand Marais [Twelve Mile Marsh] and Wood Creek."

Fort Carillon was laid out by Lotbiniere in 1755 and was completed in 1756, about 2,000 men being employed in its construction. Lake Champlain presented a busy scene during this period, the traffic between Fort Carillon and St. Johns being very large in the transportation of building materials, supplies, ammunition, and troops. .

The fort was constructed of pieces of timber in layers bound together with traverses and the interstices were filled with earth. This construction was considered proof against cannon, as good as masonry, and much better than earthworks, but not so durable. Montcalm expressed the wish that the fort had been large enough for 500 men, "whereas," said he, "it can accommodate at most, only 300."

No regular campaign was conducted in the Champlain valley in 1756, but there were frequent forays by both French and British scouting parties. Robert Rogers, with John Stark, Israel Putnam, and other able lieutenants, harassed the French posts. One of the colonial scouting expeditions having captured a few Frenchmen at the mouth of Otter Creek, a French detachment was sent there to reconnoitre that region, "to examine whether the English were not designing to form some settlements there."

As it appeared in June that the British were preparing for an aggressive movement in the vicinity of Lake George, Montcalm proposed a diversion toward Lake

were so blinded by the snow that it was necessary to lead them by the hand.

For an expedition that cost 1,000,000 francs (about $200,000) this could hardly be called a profitable foray. Montcalm would have preferred de Levis or Bougainville as leader, rather than Rigaud, but family influence prevailed, and the King of France paid the cost of this favoritism, as in so many other instances under Vaudreuil's rule.

In the spring of this year, 1757, General Loudoun planned an expedition against Louisburg, the strong Cape Breton fortress, which was destined to end ingloriously. For this purpose he withdrew a considerable portion of the forces on the northern frontier, leaving General Webb, an officer of timid and irresolute character, in command of the troops in the vicinity of Lakes George and Champlain.

Webb had about 4,000 men, mostly colonial militia, at Fort Edward, while Fort William Henry, fourteen miles away, the most advanced British post, was held by a force of 2,372 officers and men under Lieutenant Colonel Monro.

Montcalm was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by Loudoun's withdrawal of troops and he prepared to strike a blow at Fort William Henry. With an energy in marked contrast to the inactivity of generals like Johnson, Webb, and Loudoun, he aroused the Indian tribes throughout the length and breadth of Canada. After chanting the war song with the savages at Sault St. Louis, at the Lake of the Two Mountains, and frequently at Montreal, he gathered the tribes to his standard from Acadia to Lake Superior, and left Canada July 12. Six days later Montcalm arrived at Fort Carillon.

Skirmishing went on actively. On the morning of July 24 the Abenakis brought in thirty British prisoners. On July 26 a party of French, after lying in ambush a day and a night, surprised a detachment of their enemies under Colonel Parker, sent out from Fort William Henry to attack Fort Carillon. All but two of Parker's twenty-two barges were captured or sunk, 160 prisoners, including five officers, were taken, and approximately 160 men were killed or drowned.

Lieutenant Marin, with 150 or 200 French colonial troops, on July 27 made a demonstration against Fort Edward, with "rare audacity," according to Montcalm's report, and returned with thirty scalps, the French losses being slight.

A solemn council was held with the Indians on the plain near the portage to Lake George. Montcalm produced the great war belt of 6,000 shells, which was accepted, and the savages pledged themselves to remain until the expedition was ended.

At the close of the month of July, after several weeks of preparation, working day and night, Montcalm and de Levis were ready for the attack. Their force consisted of 8,021 men, including 1,806 Indians. Exclusive of the garrisons of Forts Carillon and Frederic, the sick, his savage allies, etc., the French force consisted of about 5,500 effective men. There were in the ranks the battalions of La Reine and Languedoc, La Sarre and Guienne, Bearne and Royal Roussilon.

The Indians set out for Fort William Henry on the last day of July. Montcalm followed August 1 with the main body of the French army in 250 canoes. Rowing nearly all night in a fierce storm of rain, they entered Northwest Bay. On the morning of August 2 the French army disembarked without opposition. De Levis, with

2,500 men, guided by the savages, proceeded south on the western shore of the lake. La Corne cut the communications to Fort Edward, and regular siege operations were begun. Trenches were dug and batteries were planted. Gradually the French approached nearer and nearer, and the Indians uttered cries of joy as the shot and shell fell within the walls of William Henry.

Meanwhile General Webb, at Fort Edward, with a goodly number of troops made no attempt to relieve the beleaguered fortress, but called loudly for reinforcements.

When Montcalm had approached close to the fort he demanded that the garrison surrender, but Monro refused. At 3 o'clock on the afternoon of August 7, the British made a sortie, attempting to secure the road to Fort Edward, but de Villiers, with a party of French and Indians, drove them back with a loss of fifty killed and eighty prisoners. On August 8 the fort was closely invested. All the large cannon used for defense were now disabled, more than 300 of the garrison had been killed or wounded, and smallpox had broken out in the ranks.

Montcalm now had his opponents at this mercy. He was ready to open fire with thirty-one cannon and fifteen howitzers, which commanded the works. To add to the discomfort of the Brtish, Montcalm sent into the fort a letter written by General Webb, and intercepted by the French, advising Monro to make the best terms possible. The stout hearted commander had counted steadfastly on receiving aid from Fort Edward, and his last hope was gone.

At 7 o'clock on the morning of August 9, a white flag was raised on the ramparts, and a capitulation was agreed upon. The terms provided that Monro and his brave men should march out with the honors of war, retaining their side arms, baggage, and one cannon, "out of respect

to the gallant defense that they had made;" that they should not serve against the King of France for eighteen months; that within four months they should send to Fort Carillon all the prisoners they had taken from the French and their allies in the country of North America during the war; and that they should leave in the ramparts all the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and other effects there.

At noon the French took possession and found 36 pieces of ordnance, 2,500 shot, 545 shells, 36,000 pounds of powder, 350,000 rations, including 3,000 barrels of flour and pork. The spoils of war included two sloops in the harbor, two in the stocks, four large flat bateaux, and eight barges.

The British admitted a loss of 200. The French claimed that their casualties were thirteen killed and forty wounded.

It was agreed that the British prisoners should be escorted to Fort Edward, as the French did not have provisions sufficient for a captured army. Montcalm summoned the Indian chiefs, explained the articles of capitulation, and they appeared to give consent to the terms. On the morning of August 10 the prisoners set out from the fort with a guard of regulars. They had gone but a little distance, however, when the war whoop was raised, and the savages fell upon the defenseless captives. A scene of panic, pillage, and slaughter followed, men, women and children being slain. Montcalm, de Levis, and other French officers rushed to the rescue, imperiling their lives, but to little purpose. "Kill me," implored the French commander, "but spare the English ,who are under my protection," but threats and prayers alike fell upon deaf ears. Four hundred or more were rescued and taken back to camp. On August 15 Montcalm sent them to

Fort Edward under a strong guard, "after having showered civilities upon them," as a contemporary record says. Not more than 600 men in a body reached Fort Edward immediately following the massacre, but many stragglers came pouring in.

According to de Levis fifty of the prisoners were killed in this slaughter in addition to the sick and wounded slain. Montcalm charged that the Indian outrage was due to rum which the British gave the savages. In any event this horrible episode is a blot on the record of a brave and distinguished officer of France, and its story forms a bloody page in the history of both the Champlain valley and North America.

No attack was attempted upon Fort Edward, where several thousand men occupied an intrenched camp. Provisions were scarce, and horses were needed to transport artillery, and Montcalm's force was considered too small for such an enterprise.

On the night of August 15 a thousand men loaded the spoils of the campaign into boats, while 1,200 of their companions demolished Fort William Henry. The ruined barracks were set on fire and upon the blazing embers of this wooden fortress were thrown the bodies of the slain, forming a weird funeral pyre of gigantic proportions, and illuminating for miles the forest clad shores of this lovely lake.

The victorious army then returned to Fort Carillon, and on August 29 Montcalm left for Montreal, whither de Bougainville had preceded him with the tidings of success.

In October, 1757, Fort Carillon was not considered finished, and most of the batteries were said to be temporary rather than permanent. M. d'Hugues, writing, May 1, 1758, to Marshal de Belle Isle, said that the fort should

be enlarged and strengthened; and that Fort Frederic could not stand with Carillon taken, as "four cannon shot would tumble it into ruins."

M. de Pont le Roy, engineer-in-chief, writing of Fort Carillon about this time, described the fort as being built on a rock, an irregular square, the longer sides of an irregular polygon measuring 324 feet, and the shorter sides, 174 feet. Its revetment consisted of square pieces of oak, laid one on the other, bound by traversines, and its periphery was pierced by embrasures lined with oak timber. The ramparts were thirteen or fourteen feet wide. The bastions were casemated and served for bakery, cistern, powder magazine and provisions. The roof consisted of beams laid side by side covered with four or five feet of earth. The buildings for civilians were of stone, and two stories in height.

During the winter of 1757-58 Captain Hebencourt of the La Reine regiment commanded at Carillon, and while he was stationed there a British force appeared before the fort several times, but accomplished nothing. A party of Indians, 200 strong, having just arrived at the fort, were sent against the famous colonial ranger, Maj. Robert Rogers, and returned March 13 with 146 scalps and a few prisoners, "merely to furnish their father with live letters," so the old record runs. Rogers was captured, but escaped with fifteen men and two officers, nearly naked, the partisan chief leaving his coat, in a pocket of which was his commission in the British army.

CHAPTER V

THE FRENCH ABANDON THE LAKE

THE year 1757 is notable in English history because it brought to the direction of the affairs of the kingdom one of the greatest of the many famous statesmen who have made Great Britain a mighty power in the world, this man being William Pitt. With the determination to win victory, and to drive France from the American continent, he entered upon his arduous task with vigor and enthusiasm. His firmness was felt at once. Jeffrey Amherst, who had served with credit in the German wars, was ordered to take Louisbourg, which he captured July 26, 1758. James Abercrombie, a friend of Lord Bute, was assigned to the command of the expedition against Crown Point. To John Forbes was assigned the task of taking Fort Duquesne, and wiping out the disgrace of Braddock's disaster. Upon the approach of the British the fort was blown up and the French forces fled. The fame of Pitt was perpetuated by changing the name of Fort Duquesne to Pittsburg.

In June, 1758, General Abercrombie gathered at the head of Lake George an army that according to Bancroft, was "the largest body of European origin that had ever been assembled in America." British authorities say that it consisted of 6,367 regulars, and 9,024 colonial troops, chiefly from New England, New York, and New Jersey; although the French claimed that their opponents had between 20,000 and 25,000 men. Although Abercrombie was the commander, it is said that Pitt depended upon Lord George Augustus Howe, a grandson of King George I, as the guiding spirit of the expedition.

Montcalm arrived at Fort Carillon on June 30. According to his report the French force consisted of 2,970 regulars, 37 men of the Marine, 35 Canadians, and 16 Indians. This force was augmented later, approximately to 3,600 fighting men, hardly one-fourth as large as the British army. The greater part of the troops were stationed on the peninsula, near Fort Carillon.

On July 5 Abercrombie broke camp at Lake George and formally began his campaign for the capture of Ticonderoga, supremely confident of success. The advantages of war, which had been heavily against the British in the previous campaign, appeared at this time to be strongly in their favor. The troops were embarked in 900 bateaux and 138 whaleboats, a large number of flat boats being provided for the artillery. The army was formed in three divisions. Rogers' Rangers and Gage's light infantry led the way. Among the regulars were the Royal Americans and the Scotch Highlanders. This great flotilla was six miles long, and, as it proceeded northward with flags flying, to the stirring music of martial airs, the words of the author of Solomon's Song, "terrible as an army with banners," might well have come to the minds of the anxious French scouts on the distant hills, watching the approach of this formidable expedition. This was the poetry and romance of warfare, far removed from the hardships and the carnage of actual battle.

On the morning of July 6 the army was disembarked at the north end of Lake George and formed in four columns, entrenchments having been thrown up to protect the bateaux.

Meanwhile, Montcalm had not been idle. His first impulse had been to withdraw to Fort Frederic, but a council of officers advised against such a step. Having determined to make a stand at Fort Carillon, he set about

its defense with characteristic energy. The position naturally was a strong one. The lake guarded the eastern approach. A bay on the south and southwest protected another part of the works. Submerged meadows on the north made an attack from that quarter impossible The only opportunity for an approach by land was from the northwest.

On the high ground before the fort a breastwork of logs and earth nine feet in height, twenty feet thick at the base and ten at the top was constructed, guarded by a deep trench. In front of this trees were cut down so that their branches interlocked, and these were sharpened so that this abatis formed an impenetrable thicket of boughs. Three regiments under de Bourlamaque occupied the log camp near the foot of Lake George. La Barre's detachment held a post at the sawmills, two miles from Fort Carillon. A body of 350 or 400 men from the Bearne regiment, under Captain de Trepezec, had been sent to occupy a post between Bald Mountain and Lake George, as an advance guard. Rogers' Rangers formed the vanguard of the British army, and they set out bravely, entering a thick wood, which became darker and more dense as they proceeded, the columns, of necessity, being broken. This was a situation entirely unfamiliar to the regular troops. Confusion followed and the soldiers soon lost their way.

By a strange coincidence the advance guard of the French army, deserted by their Indian guides, had lost the trail. Thus it happened that in the dim light of the forest a lost detachment of Frenchmen stumbled upon a lost army of Englishmen, and a skirmish followed. The French were caught between the advance guard under Rogers and the main body of the British army. Many of them were killed, or drowned in attempting to reach a

place of safety, while 148 were captured, and only fifty escaped.

Two British officers were killed, but the death of one of these was a loss immeasurably greater than that which the French sustained, for Lord Howe, the idol of the British army, had fallen dead at the first fire. Great confusion followed and a retreat was sounded. That night Abercrombie's troops lay under arms in the forest, and on the morning of July 7 fell back to the landing place at Lake George.

Howe was the real brains of the expedition, and great confidence had been reposed upon his skill and judgment. Wolfe's estimate of him was—"The noblest Englishman that has appeared in my time, and the best soldier in the British army." Howe was greatly beloved, both by the regulars and the colonial troops. He had treated the provincials with great kindness, and, as a tribute to this gallant soldier, Massachusetts erected a tablet to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

On July 7 the task of capturing the post at the sawmills was assigned to Lieutenant Colonel Bradstreet, who had a force including regulars, rangers, provincials, and watermen under his command. As the British approached, the French retired, burning the mill and the bridges, the latter being repaired by Bradstreet's men.

On the morning of July 8 Abercrombie's whole army advanced, following the usual portage. The British commander was eager to attack, fearing the French would be reinforced. It is true that reinforcements were approaching from the north, and the previous night, being warned of Abercrombie's advance, de Levis had been able to bring 400 picked troops to Montcalm's assistance. In his haste the British commander had left his artillery on the shore of Lake George. Clark, the chief engineer of the British

army, had surveyed the French fortifications from a distant hilltop and decided that the works could be carried by assault. John Stark, who knew much of conditions as they actually existed, doubted the wisdom of such an assault; but he was only a provincial officer, and his advice was not heeded. Lord Howe, who might have advised caution, was dead, and so the assault was ordered.

A triple line was formed. In the first rank the rangers occupied the left, the boatmen, the center; and the light infantry, the right. The second rank consisted of provincial troops, with wide openings between the regiments. The regulars constituted the third rank. Connecticut and New Jersey regiments formed the rear guard.

The French were ready for the attack. Berry with the Royal Roussilon battalion, held the center under the direct command of Montcalm. De Levis was on the right, with the La Reine, Bearne, and Guienne regiments. De Bourlamaque, with the regiments of La Sarre and Languedoc, defended the left. On the flanks, detachments of volunteers were posted on the Lake George side, while 450 Canadians and colonial regulars guarded the approach from Lake Champlain.

At 1 o'clock in the afternoon the British commander ordered a bayonet charge. The Fifty-fifth regiment led, followed by Murray's Highlanders, including the famous Black Watch regiment, and the colonial troops. By Montcalm's orders not a gun was fired until the enemy reached the outer defenses. Then, as the British strove to force a passage through that impenetrable entanglement a fire of artillery and musketry was opened that was terrible in its execution. Again and again through that long July afternoon some of Britain's bravest soldiers were hurled against the French defenses, in the face of a

withering fire, under which no man could approach within fifteen paces of the entrenchments and live.

The Highlanders fought with ferocious courage, and the French defended their position with a valor born of desperation. "The fire on the one side and on the other," said Montcalm, "was like that at the battle of Parma."

Montcalm, throwing off his coat, on account of the heat of the afternoon, moved from point to point, exposing himself like a common soldier. He strengthened every weak place, and by his splendid courage inspired every man to do his best. Finally, about 6 o'clock, after six successive charges, which resulted each time only in raising higher the red heaps of the slain before the French defenses, Abercrombie abandoned the attack. He had suffered a loss, according to his own figures of 551 killed, 1,356 wounded, and 37 missing, a total casualty list of 1,944. Among the wounded was Capt. Charles Lee, later a major-general in the American army. The French loss is given as 377, General de Bourlamaque being severely wounded.

Under cover of darkness Abercrombie retreated in haste from the scene of his defeat to the camp occupied the night before the battle. According to the French accounts, it was a flight of terror, the British abandoning some of their wounded, as well as a considerable quantity of provisions, ammunition, and baggage.

After the battle Montcalm praised his soldiers for their brave and successful defense, and caused food and wine to be served for their refreshment. Fearing a renewal of the attack the French troops toiled all the night, strengthening their works, while their opponents, 13,000 strong, were fleeing with all possible speed from the defenses of Carillon, which already had proved too strong to be taken by a powerful and confident foe.

When morning dawned, and it was seen that the British had fled, Montcalm did not attempt a pursuit, considering it imprudent with his comparatively small force to venture out of his entrenchments. A British soldier afterward expressed the opinion that if the French had pursued, Abercrombie would have lost 2,000 men.

Early on the morning of July 9, the British troops embarked and that evening reached their old camp at the head of Lake George. Immediately after Abercrombie's arrival he sent the wounded to Fort Edward and Albany, even his artillery and ammunition being transported to the latter place for safety.

Montcalm had won a remarkable victory, against great odds. Had Lord Howe lived, the result might have been different. Abercrombie was the victim of over-confidence. With an army vastly superior to that of his adversary, he had attempted by sheer brute force to carry by storm a position of great natural strength, skilfully defended by a resourceful and courageous enemy. Had he brought up his artillery, it is probable that he might have demolished the French defenses with little loss of life. Mount Defiance commanded the fort then as surely as it did when Burgoyne occupied that eminence a score of years later, and compelled St. Clair to evacuate Ticonderoga in haste. Had the British commander cut Montcalm's line of communication to the northward, the French army would have been starved into submission soon, for there were only eight days' provisions in Fort Carillon. A severe famine had prevailed in Canada and food was difficult to obtain. Seldom has an expedition started out with greater pomp and show than did that of Abercrombie. Not often has a body of troops retreated with less glory than that same army.

M. Doriel, writing to Marshal de Belle Isle, speaks of Montcalm's position as "difficult and critical." The writer would have regarded this campaign as much more fortunate than those preceding it had Montcalm acted, on the defensive and merely escaped blame. He also intimates that Governor Vaudreuil was jealous of Montcalm, and that 2,000 or 3,000 men were purposely withheld from the French commander for the ostensible purpose of making experiments in the Iroquois country, in order that Montcalm, with his small force, might be "strangled." Vaudreuil admitted later that previous to the victory over Abercrombie the plan of blowing up Forts Carillon and Frederic and falling back to St. Johns was well nigh adopted.

The news of the victory for the arms of France was conveyed to Paris by M. Pean, adjutant of Quebec. Montcalm orderd a great cross to be erected on the field of battle, says Parkman, on which were inscribed these lines, written by the French commander:

"Soldier and chief ramparts' strength are naught;
Behold the conquering cross! 'Tis God the triumph wrought."

Pitt had been waiting with eagerness for news from the Champlain valley, and when it came he wrote Grenville, "I own the news has sunk my spirits and left very painful impressions on my mind, without, however, depriving me of great hopes for the remaining campaign." How well founded were Pitt's hopes, subsequent events were to show.

As a result of this defeat Abercrombie was superseded as commander-in-chief by General Amherst, and returned to England to take a seat in Parliament. Better success attended the British arms elsewhere. In August Bradstreet marched to Oswego, and captured Fort Frontenac.

Following the battle at Ticonderoga, border warfare was resumed in the Champlain valley, Rogers again leading the British forces, and Marin commanding the French parties. During one of these expeditions Maj. Israel Putnam, afterward a prominent officer and picturesque figure in the American Revolution, was taken by the Indians of Marin's division. The captive was bound securely to a tree and a young brave indulged in the sport of seeing how near Putnam's head he could throw a tomahawk without hitting it. Several times the weapon lodged in the tree perilously near the mark. A gun was snapped at Putnam's breast and he was beaten with the butt of a musket. It was then determined to burn the prisoner at the stake. He was stripped of his clothing and bound to a tree. Dried twigs were heaped about him and the torch was applied. Just as his body was beginning to be scorched by the heat and death appeared to be certain in a few minutes, Marin rushed to the scene, broke through the circle of savages who were watching the torture of the prisoner with glee, scattered the burning branches, and released the prisoner.

Meanwhile Governor Vaudreuil, in Canada, was plotting against Montcalm, the ablest soldier France had sent to the New World, and seeking to bring about his recall, instead of attempting to strengthen the French position, which was precarious. At times Montcalm, wearied by the difficulties of his position, longed to return to France, saying that his health had suffered and that his purse was depleted. Moreover the entire province of Canada was exhausted by famine, war, and intrigue.

In the fall of 1758 Montcalm feared that it would be possible for the British to drive the French from Fort Carillon, and intimated that it might be well to have that

fortification and Fort Frederic mined that they might be blown up as a last resort.

There was an early frost this year, said to be "unexampled within the last fifty years," and it was followed by a winter of unusual severity. Notwithstanding the extreme cold three small ships, called xebecs, were built to convey artillery and protect the French interests on the lake, and 250 flat bateaux were constructed for carrying troops and provisions.

The year 1759 opened auspiciously for Great Britain. From far off Africa, from the East Indian seas, and from the continent of Europe, came the tidings of success. Pitt exercised great care in the choice of generals for the American campaign, selecting officers for their actual worth rather than because they were favorites of some dignitary at court. To Amherst, the commander-in-chief, was assigned the task of capturing Lake Champlain with the main army.

In the spring of 1759 de Bourlamaque was assigned to the command of the French frontier posts in the Champlain valley, with 2,300 men. Conditions were so precarious that he received positive orders from Governor Vaudreuil not to think of defending Forts Carillon and Frederic, but to abandon them as the British approached and to fall back to Isle aux Noix in the Richelieu River, in the rear of St. Johns, which was judged to be the best place to check an advance upon Canada. The French commander, however, proceeded to strengthen the fortifications of Fort Carillon, as though he expected to withstand a siege.

Doriel and Bougainville had been sent to France to secure aid, but obtained only the promise of a few hundred men and supplies for a campaign. The European wars were absorbing practically all the energies of France

and the possibility of the loss of an empire in America did not appear to weigh heavily in the scales of opinion at the court of Versailles. Canada was torn with dissensions, honeycombed by corruption, and exhausted by war and famine. From the French point of view the outlook was disheartening indeed. All the skill and audacity of Montcalm were needed for the defense of Quebec and he could not be spared for another campaign on Lake Champlain.

Colonel Montresor had outlined a plan of campaign for the British, which called for an army of 7,000 men at Lake George. He advised that 3,000 men, provided with suitable tools, stores, and provisions, be sent to Otter Creek, below the falls, there to build bateaux and rafts sufficient to cross the lakes when ordered to do so. He suggested that this force should take post at one of the points of land at the mouth of the stream, there to remain for further orders. His idea was to have 500 carpenters and boatbuilders, 1,000 New Hampshire Rangers and 1,500 Connecticut troops stationed there to act in conjunction with the forces at Lake George, the latter to move on Ticonderoga. The Otter Creek force was to cross the lake and occupy the road to Crown Point, cutting off all provisions and reinforcements from Canada, and putting the enemy between two fires. Events were soon to prove these plans unnecessary, however.

Amherst arrived at the head of Lake George on June 21, and there he waited a month for reinforcements. His army included 5,743 regulars, the Royal Americans forming a part of this force, and nearly as many more colonial troops. On July 21, having made all necessary preparations for a formidable expedition, he embarked his army in four columns and proceeded slowly down Lake George, making a landing at the foot of the lake on July 22. The

French commander endeavored to persuade his Indian allies to attack the British as they disembarked, but they refused to make the attempt. Unlike Abercrombie, Amherst brought up his artillery and occupied the outer line of fortifications at Ticonderoga which the French, after a slight skirmish had abandoned. While Amherst was making preparations for a siege Bourlamaque retired from Fort Carillon, to Fort Frederic, under cover of darkness, leaving 400 men of the La Reine regiment, under Hebencourt to make a show of defense. For four days this handful of French soldiers kept up an artillery duel with Amherst's army, Col. Roger Townshend being killed by a cannon ball while reconnoitering the fort. Finally, on the night of July 27, when the British were almost ready to assault the works, after conducting regular siege operations, the little garrison fled, having blown up the works and rendered the guns useless.

Amherst set about repairing the fort. During his stay here there was considerable sickness in the army, caused, it was supposed, by the water at Ticonderoga.

On July 31, having blown up Fort Frederic, Bourlamaque retired to Isle aux Noix with all the artillery and provisions he could transport from the two forts he had evacuated. Thus, after a full century and a half of control, did French supremacy practically pass from Lake Champlain.

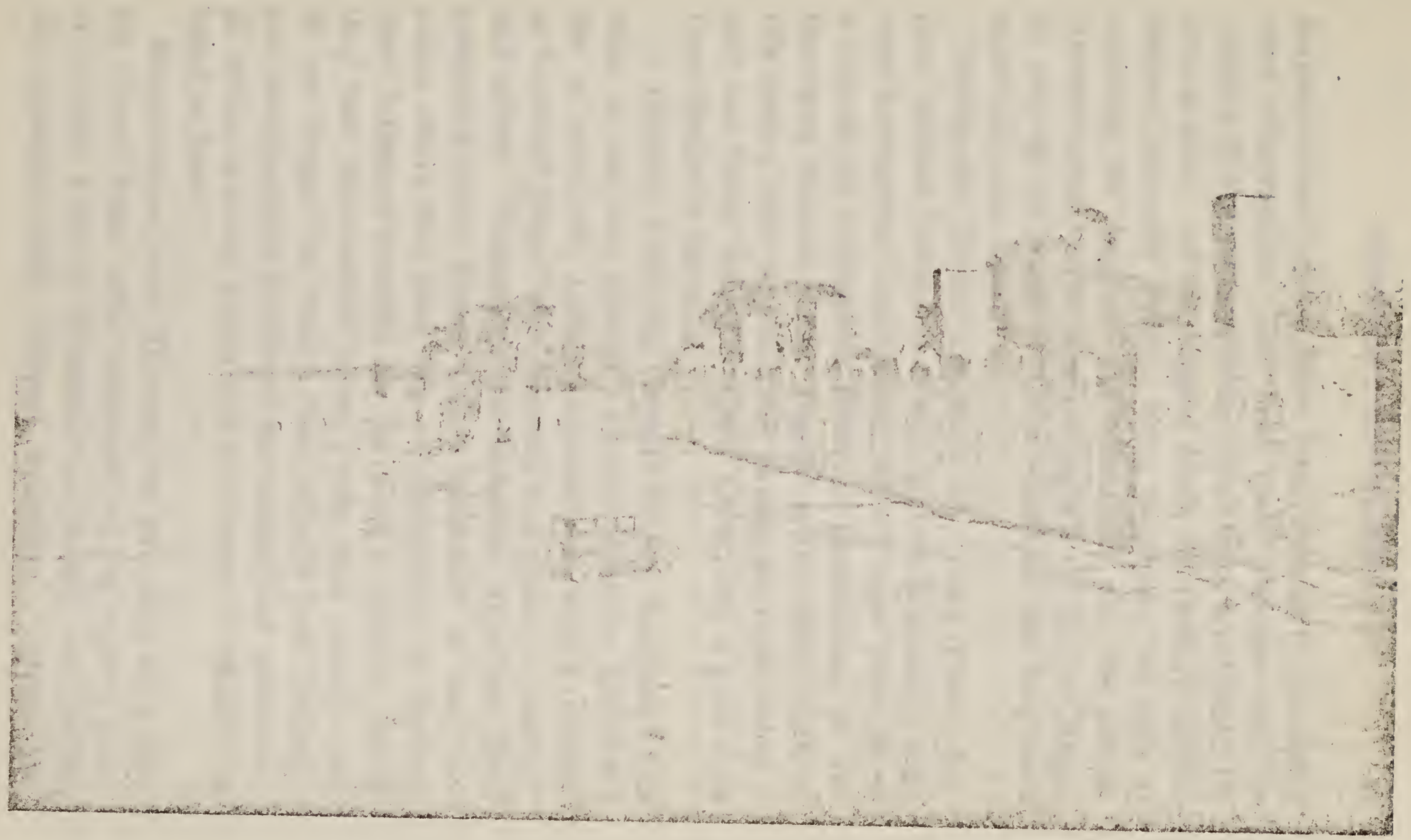
Bourlamaque proceeded to place the post of Isle aux Noix in the best possible condition. He left on the lake a schooner armed with ten four-pounders, and three small xebecs, each carrying eight guns of the same calibre, and a crew of fifty men. The commander of this small squadron had orders to cruise continually at the mouth of the lake to obstruct the passage of the enemy.

A detachment of Amherst's army under Major Rogers set out for Crown Point on the day that the French evacuated Fort Frederic, but did not attempt to pursue Bourlamaque. Amherst arrived at Crown Point on August 4, and proceeded to lay out a new fortress, about 200 yards west of Fort Frederic, sometimes called Fort Amherst. The ramparts were about twenty-five feet high and twenty-five feet wide, of solid masonry, and the whole circuit, including the bastion, was 853 yards. A broad moat surrounded the fort. A covered way led to the water's edge at the northeast and there was a gate on the north side. The new fortress is said to have cost Great Britain about $10,000,000. It was never entirely completed, and never saw a battle.

The British army remained at Crown Point, while Captain Loring, in charge of naval operations on these waters, with the greatest possible speed constructed boats for an expedition down the lake. On October 12 the fleet set out for the Canadian border. The vanguard consisted of an armed brigantine, carrying sixteen 18-pounders, three scows (square rigged vessels), and 160 flat bateaux.

Early in October the little French fleet under Delabarats with a detachment of troops on board, set out to reconnoitre in the vicinity of Crown Point, and it chanced that during the night, while the French boats were at anchor, the British fleet passed to the northward without discovering the foe. Delabarats, seeing his retreat cut off, called a council of war, and it was decided to sink the ships, which was done, near Valcour Island. The crews escaped through the woods to Canada.

The British ships continued northward and entering the Richelieu River, advanced nearly to Isle aux Noix. The French scouts were driven back by fifteen or twenty



RUINS OF FORT AMHERST, CROWN POINT, N. Y.

barges, and on October 20 the intrenchments of the enemy were reconnoitred. The fleet then withdrew and on October 23 retired up the lake, after being windbound for several days. As the autumn winds were severe and the bateaux narrowly escaped being swamped, the idea of attacking the frontier was abandoned for the season. Amherst attempted to send messages to Wolfe at Quebec, by way of the country of the Abenakis, but they were captured by the French.

During the British occupancy of Crown Point, Amherst ordered Colonel Goff with a New Hampshire regiment to construct a road across what is now Vermont, to a fort on the Connecticut River, at Charlestown, N. H., known as Number Four. Beginning two miles north of this post, a road was built for twenty-six miles, when a path was found leading to Otter Creek, and a good trail from thence to the lake.

In October, 1759, Maj. Robert Rogers was ordered to make a raid into Canada. General Amherst instructed him to attack the Indian settlements in such a manner as he should judge "most effectual to disgrace the enemy," and added: "Remember the barbarities that have been committed by the enemy, Indian scoundrels, on every occasion where they have had an opportunity of showing their infamous cruelties on the King's subjects; which they have done without mercy; take your revenge; but do not forget that though these villains have dastardly and promiscuously murdered the women and children of all orders, it is my orders that no women or children be killed or hurt."

Rogers set out with 200 men, but five days after leaving Crown Point, while encamped on the eastern shore of the lake, a keg of gunpowder accidentally was ignited, the explosion which followed wounding a captain and

several men. The injured with an escort were sent back to Crown Point. The party being reduced to 142 men proceeded and reached Missisquoi Bay after a trip of seven days from Crown Point. Here the boats were concealed under the overhanging bushes that bordered the shore, and sufficient provisions were left in them to supply the party on the return to Crown Point. Two men remained to guard the boats. When two days' march from Missisquoi Bay the men left to guard the boats overtook the expedition and informed Rogers that a party of 400 French and Indians had discovered the boats and sent them away with fifty men, the rest of the party being in pursuit of Rogers and his force. The veteran ranger kept this information a secret and sending back a few men to inform Amherst of the new turn affairs had taken, and asking that provisions be forwarded to Newbury, on the Connecticut River, he pushed on with all possible speed. Arriving on the evening of October 4 at the outskirts of the village of the St. Francis Indians, situated at the head of the river of the same name, Rogers and two of his men who understood the native language, dressed themselves in Indian garb and reconnoitred the settlement. The members of the tribe were engaged in a dance and festivities, which continued until 4 o'clock the morning of October 5. Waiting until the savages were asleep, at break of day, Rogers made a general assault. Men, women, and children were slain and a great number of scalps were taken as trophies. In a village of 300 persons, 200 were killed and 20 were taken prisoners. Rogers' casualties were one killed and six slightly wounded. The village was burned, and after resting an hour Rogers started at 8 o'clock in the morning, on the return trip, taking with him five English captives, whom he had released.

Being annoyed by the enemy, on his retreat, an ambuscade was formed, which put a stop to further harassing tactics by the enemy. The party kept together for about ten days, until the eastern shore of Lake Memphremagog was reached. Provisions becoming scarce, Rogers ordered his men to scatter in small parties and make their way in, as best they could, to the mouth of the Upper Ammonoosuc River. When the place agreed upon for meeting was reached, to the consternation of Rogers no provisions were found. The officer sent with relief had waited only two days, and a camp fire still burning showed that he had just departed. Guns were fired, but to no purpose. Leaving most of his men, who were unable to proceed further on account of hunger and fatigue, Rogers, Captain Ogden, one ranger, and a captive Indian boy embarked on a raft made of dry pine trees, and proceeded down the Connecticut River, seeking aid. The trip was a perilous one, and they narrowly escaped being carried over White River falls. Going around these falls, Rogers burned down trees and built another raft, continuing as far as Ottaquechee falls, over which the raft was taken in safety. On the fourth day of this stage of the journey the fort at Number Four (Charlestown, N. H.) was reached. A canoe with provisions was dispatched to the relief of the party left behind, and a little later Rogers with other canoes and supplies returned to aid his comrades. Crown Point was reached December 1, forty-nine men having been lost on the return trip from the St. Francis village. The men whom Rogers left on the banks of the Connecticut, while he went to seek relief were kept from starvation by eating ground nuts and lily roots. Although the price paid was a heavy one, the expedition was successful in stopping Indian depredations.

In May, 1760, Amherst sent Rogers with a party of 275 of his Rangers. and twenty-five of the light infantry, to surprise the French forts at St. Johns and Chambly. Landing 200 men, on June 4, at what is now Rouses Point, he sent the remainder of his force back to Isle La Motte, under command of Captain Grant. Instead of surprising the enemy, Rogers, himself, was surprised, being attacked on June 6 by 350 French soldiers from Isle aux Noix, commanded by M. La Force. The attacking party was repulsed and retired to the island stronghold, losing forty men killed, and several wounded among whom was La Force. In the British ranks, Ensign Ward and sixteen Rangers were killed, and Captain Johnson and ten men were wounded, Johnson dying a few days later. Rogers retired to Isle La Motte, where he remained until June 9. At that time he landed at the mouth of the Great Chazy River, and making a detour around Isle aux Noix destroyed the small stockade fort of St. Therese, below St. Johns. He took twenty-five prisoners and retired, reaching Crown Point on June 23.

General Bourlemaque withdrew most of his forces from the frontier on November 28, 1759, leaving in the stockaded fort, constructed in the center of Isle aux Noix, a garrison of 300 men under Captain Lusignan. Fort St. John was garrisoned by 200 of the Royal Roussilon regiment under Captain Valette. Lieutenant Colonel Roquemaure, with the battalion of La Reine, was quartered at Fort Chambly, and had command of the frontier.

The British campaign of 1760 on Lake Champlain was not opened until late in the summer. Amherst had gone to Oswego, and Colonel Haviland, with 1,500 regulars, 1,800 colonial troops, and some Indians, left Crown Point, August 16, and encamped near Isle aux Noix, opposite the French works. Batteries were erected, and on

August 23, a heavy fire was opened. Two days later a battery was planted that commanded one of the French ships. The captain cut his cable and attempted to withdraw, but he and a part of the crew were killed, and the remainder escaped death, some by swimming to the island, and others to the enemy. Haviland seized the vessel and soon captured the rest of the little fleet, which consisted of a similar tartane, a schooner, a gabarene armed with four guns, and four boats, each carrying an eight-pounder. With these vessels the British were able to carry their artillery and barges to the rear of the French fortifications. The post now being rendered untenable, Bougainville, evacuated it at 10 o'clock the night of August 27, retreating to St. Johns. The fort at Isle aux Noix was supplied with provisions for the 1,650 men stationed there.

On the night of August 29, having been joined by the Isle aux Noix garrison, Colonel Roquemaure set fire to the fort at St. Johns, and retired to Laprairie, near Montreal.

Colonel Haviland followed, and on September 7 Montreal was invested by three armies, Haviland coming from Lake Champlain, Amherst from Oswego, and Murray from Quebec. The ancient capital of Canada, founded by Champlain, had surrendered to the British. Montcalm was in his grave, having been fatally wounded on the Plains of Abraham, where his victorious opponent, Wolfe had received a mortal wound. Driven to the last extremity, Governor Vaudreuil was compelled to sign articles of capitulation by which he surrendered 2,200 regulars. Of these, 1,600 or 1,700 returned to France, the rest remaining to settle in Canada.

Thus the banner of France, which, with one brief interval, had waved proudly over Mount Royal since first

planted there more than two centuries before by Jacques Cartier, master pilot of St. Malo, now gave place to the red standard of Britain. With the surrender of Montreal, French dominion passed from the great valleys of North America, and although continuing for another half century in the West, yet the real opportunity of building a French empire in the New World had departed. Although opposed in the campaigns of 1759 and 1760 by a powerful foe, led by skilful generals, the French were beaten, not so much by the British, as by themselves.

John Richard Green says the conquest of Canada, "by removing the enemy whose dread knit the colonists to the mother country and by flinging open to their energies in the days to come the boundless plains of the West, laid the foundations of the United States."

CHAPTER VI

ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS BEGUN

SOON after peace was declared between France and Great Britain, adventurous settlers began to come into the Champlain valley. The French colonists had departed to Canada with the retreating army of their King. The blackened chimneys of the burned buildings of the settlement on the Vermont side of the lake, in the present town of Addison, nearly opposite Crown Point, gave rise to the name Chimney Point.

Following the close of the French and Indian War, the colony of New York issued grants on both sides of the lake to more than eighty reduced British officers. Charlotte County had been organized, including both the east and west shores of the lake. A large section between Otter Creek and Malletts Bay was set aside for the "disbanded soldiers of the recent wars." The reason why the settlements under these grants were not more numerous could have been explained by the Green Mountain Boys.

The first permanent settlement made by English-speaking people on Lake Champlain seems to have been that of Philip Skene, a Scotchman, said to have been a lineal descendant of William Wallace, the famous Scottish hero. He had fought in the battle of Culloden, came to America as a captain of the Inniskilling Foot, and served under Abercrombie and Amherst in their campaigns around Lake Champlain, being made a major, while in the service. In 1761 he secured a grant near the mouth of Wood Creek. Here he founded Skenesborough, later known as Whitehall, N. Y. In 1765 he secured a further grant of

25,000 acres. Upon his new settlement he built a mansion of stone, 40 by 30 feet in size, and two and one-half stories high. His grants included an ore bed and he was the first to work the iron deposits of that region. He erected a large stone forge, also a stone building 130 feet long, used as a military garrison and depot. In 1771 he secured a grant of 2,400 acres of the best land in Westport, N. Y. He cut a road through the forects to Salem, N. Y., a distance of about thirty miles. Skene also owned a sloop, which plied between Skenesborough and Canada.

At an early date there was a flourishing settlement of French and Indians at Swanton Falls, on the Missisquoi River, in the present State of Vermont. While 1759 is the earliest year in which there is an authentic record regarding this village, it is supposed that it was established long before that time. A stone church was built and a sawmilll was constructed, a channel being cut through the rocks to supply water. Land was cleared and corn and vegetables were raised. It is said that at one time there were fifty huts in this village. Many specimens of pottery and implements have been found here. Probably most of the French settlers retired to Canada about 1760, the forts on Lake Champlain having been abandoned. In 1765, or a little later, James Robertson settled at Missisquoi Falls, engaged in traffic with the Indians and conducted a lumber business. At one time between the close of the French and Indian War and the outbreak of the Revolution, as many as fifty men, mostly of French descent, were employed in the lumber industry here. Robertson's mill is supposed to have occupied the site of the old French sawmill. A large house, two stories high was also built. This settlement was burned about the time of the outbreak of the War for Independence. The last of the Indians are supposed to have left by 1776.

Swanton was chartered October 17, 1763, by Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, but no permanent English settlement was made until after the Revolution.

In 1763 John La Frombois, a Canadian, with two companions named Goude and Swarte, made a short stay in what is now the town of Chazy, N. Y. Returning to Canada, La Frombois, in 1768, obtained from Francis McKay permission to settle on a tract which the latter claimed to hold as part of a grant made to M. La Gauchetiere, and later assigned to one of the McKay family. La Frombois took possession of two lots, on one of which he built a house. In 1776 he was driven off by the British, and his house was burned. In 1784 he returned, rebuilt his house, and remained in possession of the property until his death in 1810.

Joseph La Monte settled near the La Frombois farm in 1774. He abandoned his home in 1776, but returned after the Revolutionary War had ended, and again occupied his property.

In 1765 William Gilliland, who had served as a private in the Thirty-fifth Regiment of the British army in the French and Indian War, during one of the Lake Champlain campaigns, purchased twelve large tracts on the west side of the lake between Crown Point and Cumberland Head, the land being mostly grants made to soldiers. Gilliland established his home on the Boquet River, in the present town of Westport. Here a considerable settlement grew up. According to a statement made by the proprietor, at one time there were ninety-eight inhabitants on Gilliland's estate, exclusive of his household. There were twenty-eight dwellings, and about forty other buildings, two grist mills and two sawmills, gardens, orchards, etc. Gilliland at one time estimated his annual income at more than one thousand pounds. He did much

surveying and in a journal which he kept, he tells of some of his expeditions. On one of these trips, in 1766, he went to Grand Isle, and on August 9 he stopped at the river Alamoille (Lamoille), which he says, "lies about east of the south end cape of Grand Isle; is a very large river, much larger than Otter Creek; went about six miles up it, no falls or rapids appeared, continued smooth, deep and wide, is well stored with fish, the land on both sides very sandy and bad, much ordinary pine timber. Near the lake the land is very low, looks as if flooded in spring."

A grant of land opposite Valcour Island was made in 1765 to Lieutenant Friswell, and on this William Hay and Henry Cross settled.

Captain or Count Charles de Fredenburgh, a poor German nobleman, received a grant in 1766 of about 30,000 acres near the mouth of the Saranac River. He built a house where Plattsburgh, N. Y., now stands, and erected a sawmill. Following the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he removed his family to Montreal. He returned to protect his property but his house and mill were soon burned, and it is supposed that he was murdered.

In William Gilliland's journal a reference is made, under date of January 31, 1767, to James Logan of Shelburne. Logan and Pottier, two Germans, settled at Shelburne (Vt.) being among the first to occupy land in the Champlain valley. They were associated in the business of getting out timber for the Quebec market. Two points extending into the lake on the Shelburne shore perpetuate their names. Tradition says that these men were murdered for their money at the northern end of the lake by a band of soldiers sent out from Montreal to protect them from the Indians. A small colony, probably about ten families, had been formed here prior to

the Revolution, and Moses Pierson was one of the first settlers. The town was chartered by Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, August 18, 1763.

Charlotte (Vt.) was chartered by Governor Wentworth—as were nearly all the towns on the west side of the lake—June 24, 1762. The first attempt to make a settlement here was by Derick Webb in 1776, but he did not stay long.

Ferrisburgh (Vt.) was chartered June 24, 1762, to several persons named Ferris and others. Charles Tupper came to this town from Pittsfield, Mass., just before the Revolution. He returned to Massachusetts with the outbreak of hostilities, and was killed while serving in the American army.

Panton (Vt.) was chartered November 3, 1764. Probably the first settlers were Joseph Pangborn and Odle Squire, from Cornwall, Conn. They were joined soon after their arrival by Timothy Spaulding and others from the same town. Peter Ferris came from Nine Partners, N. Y., probably in 1766. His wife died before the Revolution and her death is said to have been the first in town. Elijah Grandy came to town in 1773, and Phineas Holcomb came in 1774.

Addison (Vt.) was chartered October 14, 1761. Benjamin Kellogg, one of General Amherst's soldiers, while stationed at Crown Point, frequently came to the salt licks in what is now the town of Addison to obtain venison for the officers of the army, and was favorably impressed by the appearance of the country. In October, 1763, the governor of New York made grants of land in this town to Col. David Wooster, Col. Charles Forbes, Lieutenant Ramsay, Sir John Sinclair, J. W. Hagarty, and a Mr. Wilkins. Following the close of the French and Indian War, Mr. Kellogg returned nearly every year

to visit his former hunting grounds. In 1765 Zadock Everest and David Vallance began a clearing about three miles north of Chimney Point. Mr. Kellogg came up from his Connecticut home that year for his annual autumn hunt, and with him came John Strong, seeking a home in this new country. Selecting the foundations of an old French residence, Strong built a house, with the aid of his companions. It is claimed that this was the first dwelling erected in Western Vermont by a settler of English birth. Later Colonel Wooster, afterward a major general in the American army during the Revolutionary War, with a New York Sheriff, attempted to oust the settlers under the New Hampshire title, others having located here, but the Green Mountain Boys, by threats of the "Beech Seal," drove Wooster's party away.

The experiences of the family of John Strong, who came to this town on the ice, by way of Lakes George and Champlain, in February, 1766, are typical of what not a few of the pioneer settlers in the Champlain valley endured. In September, Strong and a few neighbors went to Albany to secure supplies. The only door to the house was a blanket suspended at the opening. The fall evenings were growing cool, and a fire was needed for warmth. A kettle of samp had just been taken from over the fireplace, and preparations were being made for supper, when hearing a noise at the door Mrs. Strong looked up to see a bear's head thrusting the blanket aside. Hastily ordering the children up a ladder to the loft, she caught up the baby from its rude cradle, and followed them, pulling the ladder up after them. As the floor was made of small poles, it was possible to observe what was going on below. The bear soon entered the room with her two cubs. After upsetting the milk that had been placed on the table, the old bear espied the kettle of hot

samp, and thrusting her head into it swallowed a large mouthful and took another before discovering that the food was boiling hot. With an angry roar the beast struck the kettle, upsetting and breaking it. Then, sitting up on her haunches, she tried to claw the hot pudding from her mouth, whining and growling meanwhile. The cubs sat on their hind legs, one on each side, gazing in wonder at their mother's plight. The situation was so ludicrous that the children, despite their danger, broke into loud laughter. This aroused the bear to furious anger, and the animal tried again and again to reach the woman and children in the loft, but without success. When Mr. Strong returned he made a stout basswood door, hung on wooden hinges, which prevented any further visits from wild animals.

Bridport (Vt.) was chartered October 10, 1761. Philip Stone, who came to this town in 1768, was the first permanent settler. A little later two families, Richardson and Smith, settled on lands secured by New York titles, and three families, Towner, Chipman, and Plumer, settled upon New Hampshire grants. Others followed, but most of them retired with the outbreak of war. During the year 1772 Ethan Allen, who had become famous as a leader of the Green Mountain Boys, and Eli Roberts, of Vergennes, stopped over night at the home of a Mr. Richards, in this town. Allen had made himself so obnoxious to the New York authorities, by his zeal in defending the land titles issued under New Hampshire authority, that a price had been set upon his head. Six soldiers from the Crown Point garrison also stopped for the night at the Richards house. Overhearing a plan to capture the Green Mountain leader, and secure the bounty, Mrs. Richards warned Allen and his companion. One version of the story is that she helped them out of a window; the

other is that the two men slipped out of the door without hats or guns, and that the hostess passed their property to them through a window, and thus enabled them to escape. Robert Hamilton was the first person born in Bridport, the year being 1772.

Orwell (Vt.) was chartered August 8, 1763. John Carter soon settled near Mount Independence, and lived there several years before the Revolution.

Shoreham (Vt.) was chartered October 8, 1761, and its settlement was begun about 1766. Among the first settlers were Ephraim Doolittle, Paul Moore, David and James Hemenway, Robert Gray, James Forbush, John Crigo, Daniel and Nahum Southgate, Samuel Wolcott, and Amos Callender. The Moravian plan was adopted, all property being held in common. This settlement, like nearly all the others along the lake, was broken up during the Revolution.

Salisbury (Vt.) was chartered November 3, 1761. Amos Story was the first settler, but was killed soon after coming to the town, by a falling tree. Mrs. Ann Story, his widow, with her large family of children, came February 22, 1775. She felled the trees and rolled the logs to the place selected for a home and there built a house. She cleared fields and cultivated them, doing the work of a man. During the Revolution she had a place of concealment in a cave in the bank of the Otter Creek, hidden by overhanging bushes.

Middlebury (Vt.) was chartered November 2, 1761. In 1766 John Chipman came from Salisbury, Conn., with fifteen other young men, who were on their way to various parts of the new country, cutting their way through the wilderness. Chipman made a clearing of six or eight acres. Benjamin Smalley was the first settler to bring his family to town and to build a log house.

New Haven (Vt.) was chartered November 2, 1761. A few families came from Salisbury, Conn., in 1769, among them being John Griswold and his five sons. A New York grant gave to John Reid a tract four miles wide on both sides of Otter Creek from the mouth to Sutherland Falls. With his followers Reid drove away the settlers under the New Hampshire patents after they had cleared lands and made roads. Thereupon Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys ejected Reid and his party, and destroyed their grist mill. Reid returned with a party of Scotch settlers, and once more expelled the original owners and repaired the mill. Again the Green Mountain Boys visited Reid's settlement, driving off the Scotch emigrants, burning their crops, and breaking the millstones, which they threw over the falls. A blockhouse, called Fort William was erected at the falls of Otter Creek to defend the settlers against the "Yorkers."

Colchester (Vt.) was chartered June 7, 1763. A settlement was begun at the falls on the Winooski River (or the Onion, as it was called at that time) in 1772 by Ira Allen and his uncle, Remember Baker. In 1773 Baker brought his wife and three children to town. The record for a proprietors' meeting held March 24, 1774, and recorded in the handwriting of Ira Allen, the first town clerk, relate the fact that Ethan Allen, Remember Baker, Heman Allen, Zimri Allen, and Ira Allen, forming the Onion River Company, had "expended large sums of money in cutting a road from Castleton to said river [the Winooski] seventy miles through the woods." A blockhouse called Fort Frederick was built on the north bank of the river probably near the present highway bridge between Burlington and Winooski. It was made of hewn timber, being two stories in height, with thirty-two portholes in the upper story.

Joshua Stanton settled in town in 1775. At an early date a Frenchman named Mallett settled on the shore of the bay which bears his name. When he came and whence he came are matters unknown. He died in 1789 or 1790 and his clearings is said to have appeared very ancient when he died. Possibly he was one of the Frenchmen who remained behind when his fellow countrymen retired to Canada in 1759.

Burlington (Vt.) was chartered June 7, 1763. Felix Powell came to town in 1773, bought land on Appletree Point, cleared a tract, and built a log house. Later Lemuel Bradley and others arrived and settlements were made on the river opposite the clearing made by Allen and Baker.

Hinesburgh (Vt.) was chartered June 24, 1762. Probably the only settlers before the Revolution were Isaac Lawrence, from Canaan, Conn., and Abner Chaffee.

Jericho (Vt.) was chartered June 7, 1763. Three men with their families, Roderick Messenger, from Claverick, N. Y., Joseph Brown, from Great Barrington, Mass., and Azariah Rood, from Lanesboro, Mass., settled here before the Revolution.

Williston was chartered June 7, 1763. The first settlers, who came in May, 1774, were Thomas Chittenden, of Salisbury, Conn., later the first governor of Vermont, and Jonathan Spafford.

Milton (Vt.) was chartered June 8, 1763, and Georgia (Vt.) August 17, 1763, but neither town was settled until after the Revolution.

St. Albans, (Vt.) was chartered August 17, 1763. Jesse Welden, originally from Salisbury, Conn., the early home of so many Vermont pioneers and leaders, but coming to town before the Revolution from Sunderland (Vt.) was

the first settler, but he left when war broke out, returning after the danger had passed.

Highgate (Vt.) was chartered August 17, 1763, but was not settled until the War for Independence had ended.

Few settlements were made on the western side of the lake before the Revolution, the exceptions to the rule already having been mentioned.

Allusion has been made to the land controversies between the New York authorities and the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants, which made the last few years before the war between Great Britain and her American colonies a period of great turbulence for some of the dwellers in the valley east of Lake Champlain.

According to Ira Allen's History of Vermont, the author being a brother of Ethan Allen, the leader of the opposition to the New York authority, and himself one of the active spirits among the Green Mountain Boys, a plan was formed in 1774 by Colonel Allen, Amos Bird, and other men prominent in the disputed territory, acting in conjunction with Col. Philip Skene, proprietor of Skenesborough, to establish a new royal colony. This colony was to include the region north of the Mohawk River to the 45th parallel of latitude, now the northern boundary of Vermont, east of the Connecticut River, extending west to Lake Ontario, the southern boundary presumably being the northern line of Massachusetts. Colonel Skene was to be governor, and Skenesborough the capital of the new province. Skene went to London in pursuit of this object. Having secured the appointment of governor of the fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, he was advised, before applying for the erection of a new royal colony, to obtain petitions from the people of the region around Lake Champlain, setting

forth to the King and Privy Council that in order to restore harmony in the disputed district, and to make more convenient the administration of justice in a department extensive and remote from Albany, that a new colony should be set apart, of which Colonel Skene should be governor. Information to this effect was sent to the leaders of the Green Mountain Boys, but the outbreak of the War of the Revolution put an end to the project for all times. Ira Allen says that had the scheme been carried through successfully, "the people who had settled under the royal grants of New Hampshire would have been quiet."

A hint of this proposed colony is to be found in resolutions adopted at Westminster (Vt.) April 11, 1775, by committees representing Cumberland and Gloucester Counties, in the eastern part of what is now Vermont, in which a petition is formulated to the King, asking that they "be taken out of so oppressive a jurisdiction and either annexed to some other government, or erected and incorporated into a new one, as might appear best to the said inhabitants to the royal wisdom and clemency, and till such time as His Majesty should settle the controversy."

Colonel Skene, writing to Jehiel Hawley, of Arlington, tells of his appointment as "governor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point." A little later Colonel Skene was destined to return to America, not to govern a royal province, but to be made a prisoner of war by people determined to do their own governing.

CHAPTER VII

THE CAPTURE OF TICONDEROGA

THE opening of the year 1775 saw the rapid development, at least in New England, of the idea that armed opposition to what was considered the intolerable oppression of the Mother Country was likely to become a stern necessity, as well as a duty, in the near future. On February 15 of that year the Massachusetts Congress adopted a resolution directing a committee to open correspondence with the Canadians and northern Indians, in the hope of keeping them neutral in the impending contest.

John Brown, of Pittsfield, Mass., was chosen an agent to proceed to Canada on this business, and he was provided with the necessary letters and documents. He was ordered to "establish a reliable means of communication through the Grants." Late in February he set out on his errand, going first to Albany, N. Y., and thence to Lake Champlain. Brown secured as guides Peleg Sunderland, one of the active leaders of the Green Mountain Boys, a veteran hunter, acquainted with the St. Francis Indians and their language; also Winthrop Hoyt, for many years a captive in the Caughnawaga country. Brown found the journey exceedingly difficult. The ice in Lake Champlain had broken up early that year. The lake and its tributary streams were swollen, and much of the surrounding country was flooded. Attempting to make the trip in a boat, the craft was driven against an island, where the party was frozen in for two days. The Indians and Canadians were reached, at last, and were

found to be well disposed toward their New England neighbors.

While at Montreal, Brown wrote to Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren, of the Boston committee of correspondence, under date of March 24, in part as follows: "One thing I must mention to be kept in profound secret. The fort at Ticonderoga must be seized as soon as possible, should hostilities be committed by the King's troops. The people on New Hampshire Grants have engaged to do this business, and, in my opinion, they are the most proper persons for the job. This will effectually curb this Province and all the troops that may be sent here."

If the Green Mountain Boys had "engaged to do this business," the matter must have been discussed more than two months before the fortress was taken, probably at the time Sunderland was engaged as a guide. It was a natural thing that the first thoughts of the people of New England should turn, with the possibility of an armed conflict in mind, to Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Lake George, where not a few of them had received warlike training in a very practical military school.

It is not possible definitely to say with absolute precision of any man, or body of men, that he, or they, first suggested the capture of these fortresses. It was the obvious thing to do as a matter of safety, and must have occurred to hundreds of people in this anxious period preceding the actual outbreak of hostilities as a wise and prudent policy. But John Brown and his friends on the New Hampshire Grants appear to have as good a title as any of the distinction of being among the earliest to consider in serious fashion the capture of these British posts.

Immediately after the battle of Lexington the principal officers of the Green Mountain Boys and the leading citizens of the New Hampshire Grants met at Ben-

nington to discuss the situation. The peril of the settlers in the valleys of the Otter Creek and Winooski was discussed, and it was agreed that unless Ticonderoga and Crown Point were taken from the British, these posts would be reinforced and strengthened making necessary the abandonment of the isolated farms in the Champlain valley.

"While these matters were deliberating," says Ethan Allen, in his Narrative, "a committee from the Council of Connecticut arrived at Bennington, with advice and directions to carry into execution the surprise of those garrisons [Crown Point and Ticonderoga], and, if possible, to gain the command of the lake."

On April 26 Capt. Benedict Arnold, of New Haven, Conn., met Col. Samuel H. Parsons, a member of the Connecticut Assembly, on the way from Massachusetts to Hartford, and told of the conditions existing at Ticonderoga. The next day Colonel Parsons, Col. Samuel Wyllys, and Silas Deane, a member of the Continental Congress, taking as associates Thomas Mumford, Christopher Leffingwell, and Adam Babcock, met in Hartford to consider the possibility of the capture of the Lake Champlain fortresses. Having decided that the project was feasible they obtained 300 pounds from the colonial treasury upon promising to account for this sum to the satisfaction of the colony.

The idea that the people on the New Hampshire Grants were the "most proper persons for this job" seems to have been the opinion of these Connecticut patriots, as well as that of John Brown, of Pittsfield. The sinews of war having been secured, Noah Phelps and Bernard Romans, an engineer, were directed to proceed to the Grants and left on Friday, April 28. Capt. Edward Mott, Epaphras Bull, and four others followed the next

day, and overtook Phelps and Romans at Salisbury, Conn., where the party was increased to sixteen and a quantity of powder and ball was purchased. At Sheffield, Mass., two men were sent to Albany, "to ascertain the temper of the people." Traveling all day Sunday, a practice not customary in those days, the Connecticut party arrived at Pittsfield on Monday, May 1. Here they were joined by Col. James Easton, an inn keeper, Captain Dickinson, and John Brown, whose recent Canadian trip made him a valuable associate.

It had been thought best, in order that suspicion should not be aroused, to raise no considerable body of men until the Grants were reached but owing to the scarcity of provisions in that region, and the poverty of the Green Mountain settlers, upon the advice of Brown and Easton a few men—about forty—were raised in the hill country of the Berkshires. While these men were being enlisted Heman Allen was sent forward to acquaint his brother Ethan with the project on foot. In passing it should be said that the claim sometimes made to the effect that John Hancock and Samuel Adams were associated with the Connecticut leaders in organizing this expedition does not appear to be well founded, although it is probable that Adams was familiar with the general plan.

After raising a small party of recruits, Easton and Mott left Pittsfield for Bennington. On the way they met a courier riding in haste—an express, to use the phraseology current at that time—sent out to inform them that a man had arrived from Ticonderoga who said that the garrison at the fort had been reinforced, and the soldiers were on their guard, and advising against proceeding further with the expedition. Mott and Easton refused to abandon the expedition, the former declaring that with the 200 men they proposed to raise he would

not be afraid "to go round the fort in open light," adding that the rumors of evil the messenger brought "would not do to go back with and tell in Hartford." At Bennington they found those of their party who had preceded them unwilling to place any credence in the alarming rumor concerning Ticonderoga, Mr. Halsey and Mr. Bull stoutly asserting that "they would go back for no story until they had seen the fort themselves."

A council of war was summoned at the Catamount Tavern in Bennington, famous as the favorite rendezvous of Ethan Allen and his associates. The leader of the Green Mountain Boys needed no urging to undertake this task. It was an enterprise that appealed powerfully to his adventurous and patriotic nature; and no Scottish chieftain ever set out with greater ardor to assemble his clansmen, than did Ethan Allen, as he started northward to summon the study pioneers, who acknowledged his leadership. The Connecticut and Massachusetts men, securing a small quantity of provisions, followed Allen to Castleton.

Meanwhile Noah Phelps and Ezra Hickok had been sent to reconnoitre at Ticonderoga. Williams' History of Vermont says that Phelps disguised himself as one of the poor settlers living in the vicinity and went to the fort under pretence that he wanted to be shaved, inquiring for the barber. His awkward appearance and simple questions made it possible for him to observe conditions and depart unmolested, according to this early historian. This story is also told in Thompson's "Vermont."

Hinman's "Connecticut in the Revolution," however, tells a different tale. According to this account Phelps proceeded from the southern part of Lake Champlain in a boat, stopping for the night at a tavern near Fort Ticonderoga. He was assigned to a room next to one

in which the officers of the garrison were giving a supper party, the festivities lasting until a late hour. The Connecticut spy, listening intently, heard the officers discuss the unrest prevailing in the colonies, and the condition of the fortress. Very early the next morning Phelps gained admission to the fort for the purpose of being shaved. While returning through the fort the commanding officer walked with this traveler, and discussed with him the movements and purposes of the rebellious subjects of the King. Observing that a part of the wall was in a dilapidated condition Phelps remarked that it "would afford a feeble defense against the rebels in case of an attack." Captain Delaplace volunteered the information that a breach in the walls was not the greatest misfortune, as all the powder was damaged, and that before it could be used it was necessary to sift and dry it.

Phelps, being ready to depart, employed a boatman to row him down the lake in a small boat, entering the craft under the guns of the fort. Before he had gone far he urged greater speed, and was asked to take an oar, but declined, saying he was not a boatman. However, after rounding a point of land, which screened them from sight of the fort, Phelps took an oar without any invitation and rowed with such vigor that the boatman exclaimed, with an oath, "You have seen a boat before now, sir." The suspicions of the man from the fort were aroused, but Phelps being the larger and more powerful of the two, prudence was considered "the better part of valor," and no attempt was made to take the mysterious stranger back to Ticonderoga, all of which was related by the boatman to Phelps after the surrender of the fort.

This latter account makes no mention of any disguise, or any attempt to play the fool. The commanding officer evidently supposed that he was conversing with an in-

telligent and loyal British subject. It is by far the more plausible story of the two. In that time and place young men, whether wise or simpe, were not in the habit of going to a barber to be shaved. If unabe to shave themselves, some member of the family, or a neighbor, performed the service for them.

Phelps arrived at Castleton the evening of May 9. No mention is made of Hickok in either story related.

Almost immediately after the arrival of the Connecticut and Massachusetts party at Bennington, the roads to Fort Edward, Lake George, Skenesborough, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point were guarded, and steps were taken to summon the Green Mountain Boys for the capture of the two forts. Among the messengers sent out by Allen to warn the men living on isolated farms that their presence at Castleton was urgently needed, was Maj. Gershom Beach, a blacksmith, and a prominent and active member of this band which ruled the Grants. In his "History of Shoreham," Goodhue says that "Beach went on foot to Rutland, Pittsford, Brandon, Middlebury, Whiting, and Shoreham, making a circuit of sixty miles in twenty-four hours." This is one of the remarkable episodes of the American Revolution, and one that never has received the publicity or the praise that it deserves. The ride of Paul Revere was a holiday excursion compared with the journey of Gershom Beach. Consider for a moment the nature of the task. Every step must be taken on foot, through a country practically without roads, an expanse of forest broken only at long intervals by a little clearing. The messenger must climb steep hills, thread his way through the valleys, avoid swamps, and cross unbridged streams. He must know where the scattered homesteads lay, make many a detour to reach them with no unnecessary loss of time, pausing to ex-

plain his errand. As night fell, still he must hold to a a course not easily followed by daylight, and pause to arouse each family from sleep.

A journey of sixty miles on foot in a single day, over good roads, with a summons to battle to deliver, would be considered a feat of which a modern athlete might boast; but it is an insignificant performance when compared with the exploit of this early Revolutionary courier.

Mrs. Julia C. R. Dorr, the Vermont poet, has written of the journey of Beach in a poem entitled, "The Armorer's Errand." She says of the hero:

> "Blacksmith and armorer stout was he,
> First in the fight and first in the breach,
> And first in the work where a man should be."

Of the errand itself the poet writes:

> "He threaded the valleys, he climbed the hills,
> He forded the rivers, he leaped the rills.
> While still to his call, like minute men
> Booted and spurred, from mount and glen,
> The settlers rallied. But on he went
> Like an arrow shot from a bow, unspent,
> Down the long vale of the Otter to where
> The might of the waterfall thundered in air;
> Then across to the lake six leagues and more,
> Where Hand's Cove lay in the bending shore,
> The goal was reached. He dropped to the ground
> In a deep ravine, without word or sound
> And sleep, the restorer, bade him rest
> Like a weary child, on the earth's brown breast."

Headquarters were established at the tavern of Zadock Remington, in Castleton, on Sunday evening, May 7. On Monday 170 men had gathered there. That day the Committee of War met at the farmhouse of Richard Bentley, Edward Mott acting as chairman, and formulated a plan of campaign. After debating various possible methods of procedure, and considering the manner of retreat in the event of a repulse, it was voted that on the following afternoon, May 9, Capt. Samuel Herrick, with

thirty men, should be sent to Skenesborough to capture Major Skene, his party, and last, but by no means least, his boats, which should be brought during the night to Shoreham, for use in transporting troops to Ticonderoga. The remainder of the men at Castleton, then about 140, were to proceed to Shoreham to a point opposite the fort. Captain Douglass was sent to Crown Point to see if he could arrange, with the aid of his brother-in-law, who lived there, some strategem for renting the boats at the fort, belonging to the British army. It was also voted that Col. Ethan Allen should command the expedition against Ticonderoga, as the promise had been made by Mott that the men should serve under their own officers. Allen having received his orders from the committee, left for Shoreham to meet at Mr. Wessell's house, by agreement, some men who were to come there.

The same evening there appeared at Castleton Col. Benedict Arnold, who had received from the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, at Cambridge, May 3, authority to command a body of men to be raised in the western part of the colony, not exceeding 400, for the purpose of capturing Ticonderoga. He was to have a sufficient armament and garrison to defend tthe post, and take back to Massachusetts such stores and artillery as might be useful to the army. Arnold, however, did not stop to raise the 400 men authorized. There is a strong probability that he heard of the expedition under Connecticut auspices, and, fearing that the fortresses would be taken without his aid, made haste to the rendezvous at Castleton.

When Arnold arrived there he was accompanied only by a body servant. Without a soldier raised under his Massachusetts commission, he demanded that the command of the expedition be turned over to him, asserting

that the force assembled had no proper orders. The pioneers who had assembled in haste for the serious business of capturing the King's forts were in no mood to yield to such a demand. Mott, chairman of the Committee of War, at the time was a mile and a half away with the Skenesborough party but was sent for, and on his arrival told the lone colonel that the soldiers assembled were raised on condition that they should be commanded by their own officers, and the whole plan was explained to Arnold. Nevertheless, as Mott says, he "strenuously contended and insisted upon his right to command them and all their officers."

This demand created the greatest indignation among the volunteers, and they threatened to abandon the expedition then and there and leave for their homes. This hasty action was prevented by the exertions of the officers, and an incipient mutiny was quelled for a time. Still determined to have the honor of the chief command, Arnold set out the next morning to find Allen. The whole party followed fearing that their leader would yield to the demand that he relinquish the command, but Allen declined to accede to the request. Allen and Easton assured the men that Arnold should not command them, but that in any event their pay should be the same. The response to this statement, according to Mott, was that "they would damn their pay, and say that they would not be commanded by any others but those they engaged with."

Resuming the business of the expedition the party left Castleton, going by way of Sudbury to the old military road, built in Amherst's time from the Connecticut River to Lake Champlain. This route they followed through Whiting, and reached the lake shore at Hand's Cove, in Shoreham, about two miles north of Ticonderoga, after

dark on the evening of May 9. This route, about twenty-five miles long, was taken rather than the one through Benson, seven or eight miles shorter, because there was less probability of discovery. Moreover the place where they reached the shore was a wooded ravine, where they were concealed from view.

According to Allen's account he now had "230 valiant Green Mountain Boys," and it is known that thirty-nine or forty men had been raised in western Massachusetts. Colonel Easton says there were about 240 men. There is a little uncertainty, however, regarding the exact size of the force assembled.

The great need now was boats. The effort to secure means of transportation by water had not been successful, and when Hand's Cove was reached no boats were in waiting. Captain Douglass had gone for a scow in Bridport owned by a Mr. Smith. On his way he stopped at the home of a Mr. Stone, in Bridport, to secure the aid of a man named Chapman. The family had retired for the night, but were aroused. Two young men, James Wilcox and Joseph Tyler, sleeping in a chamber, overheard the conversation and immediately decided to secure if possible, Major Skene's large rowboat off Willow Point, on the Smith farm, in the northwest part of Bridport, known to be in charge of a colored servant who had a fondness for "strong waters." Dressing hastily they took their guns and a jug of New England rum as bait for the Negro, and enlisting the aid of four companions they started on their errand. Arriving at the shore, they hailed the boat, telling the story of being on the way to join a hunting party at Shoreham. The jug of rum was exhibited and they offered to help in rowing the boat. The temptation proved sufficiently alluring, the boat was brought over, and Jack and his two companions pro-

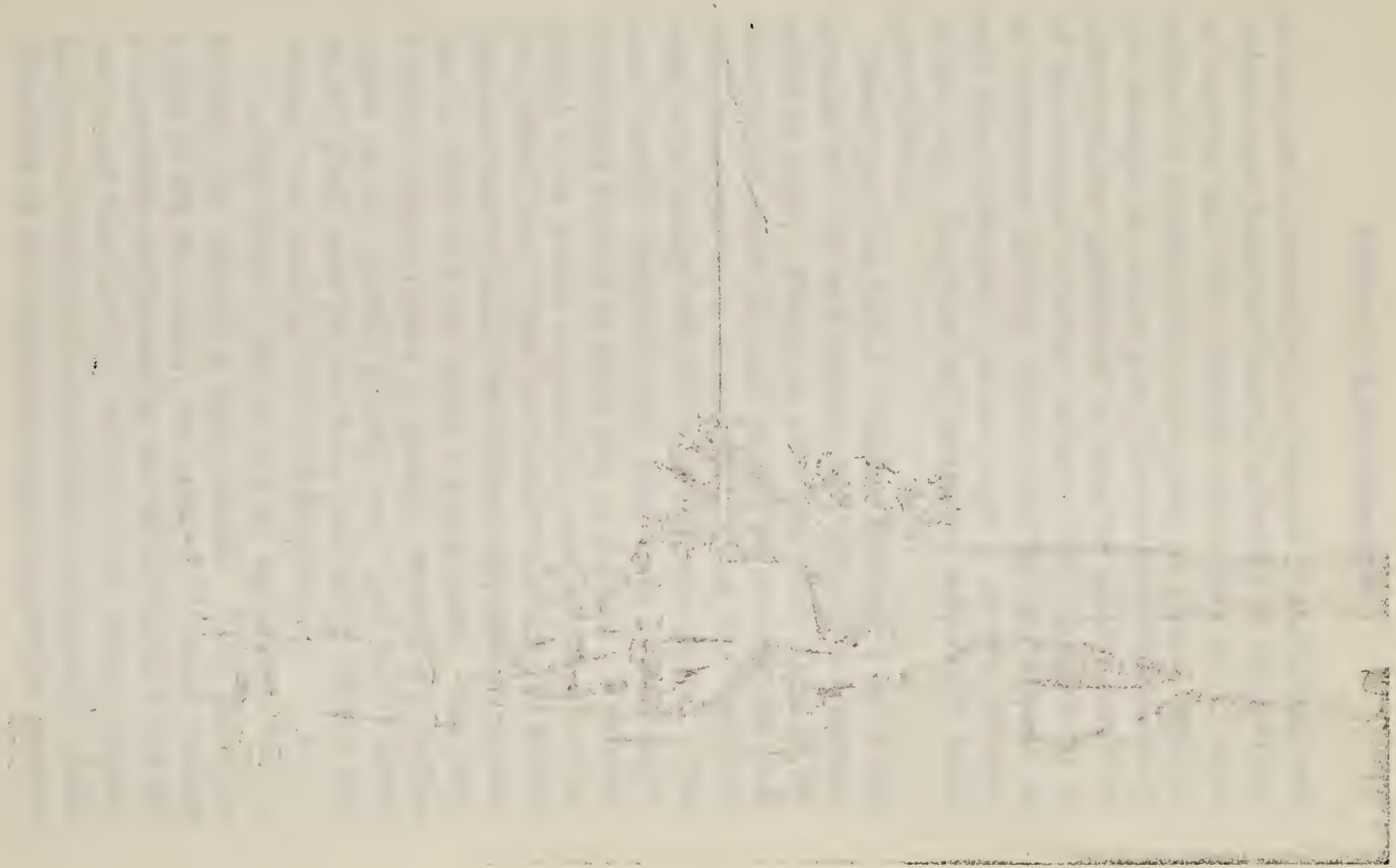
ceeded on their way with the passengers, only to find that the hunting party at Shoreham was the kind that made prisoners of war. About the same time Captain Douglass arrived with a scow, and a few small boats also had been collected.

The number of boats assembled was very inadequate and morning was fast approaching. It was decided, therefore, to wait no longer, but to proceed with the means of transportation at hand. The impression generally given is that one trip was made to carry those who captured the fort. Ira Allen declares, however, in his history that "by passing and repassing they got over about eighty men by the dawn of day." The exact number participating in the attack, according to Ethan Allen, was eighty-three. A landing was made about a half-mile from the fort.

Once more Arnold claimed the right to command. "What shall I do with the damned rascal, put him under guard?" exclaimed Allen, in exasperation. Amos Callender advised that the two men enter the fort side by side, and this course was agreed upon. William Gilliland, founder of Westport, N. Y., has also asserted that he was the means of settling the dispute.

Ethan Allen, however, was the commander, and the authority was not divided with Arnold, or any other man. James Easton was second in command, and Seth Warner, who had been left behind at Hand's Cove, was the third officer in rank.

The hour was now about 4 o'clock, and the day was breaking. The men were drawn up in three lines and, according to his own statement, Allen addressed his little band as follows: "Friends and fellow soldiers: You have for a number of years past been a scourge and terror to arbitrary powers. Your valor has been famed



BASTION, FORT TICONDEROGA, TICONDEROGA, N. Y.

abroad, and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me from the General Assembly of Connecticut to surprise and take garrison now before us. I now propose to advance before you, and, in person, conduct you through the wicket gate; for we must this morning either quit our pretentions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes; and, inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest of men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any contrary to his will. You that will undertake voluntarily, poise your firelocks.

Every gun was raised. Nathan Beeman, a lad living opposite the fort, and familiar with all the surroundings, acted as guide. Facing to the right, with Allen at the head of the center file, and Arnold by his side, the little force advanced to a wicket gate, which had been left open wide enough for two men to enter abreast. The men swarmed through rapidly, while some in their eagerness scaled the wall on either side of the gate. A sentinel posted at the wicket snapped his fusee at Allen, but the gun missed fire. Allen ran toward him and the soldier retreated hastily through the covered way into the parade, gave a shout, and ran under a bomb proof. The New England soldiers rushed in quickly, formed in a hollow square on the parade ground, and gave three hearty cheers, which some persons have described as Indian war whoops, thus arousing the sleeping garrison.

A sentry made a pass at one of the officers with a bayonet, and inflicted a slight wound. Allen drew his sword to kill the soldier, but changed his mind, dealing a blow which cut the man on the side of the head, but did not wound him severely, whereupon the sentry dropped his gun and asked for mercy, which was granted. Allen demanded of the frightened captive where the quarters

of the commanding officer, Capt. William Delaplace, of His Majesty's Twenty-sixth Regiment, were to be found. A stairway in front of the barracks on the west side of the garrison, leading to the second story, was pointed out. Allen ascended this stairway, and in a stentorian voice threatened to sacrifice the whole garrison unless the captain came forth instantly. Thereupon the surprised commandant appeared at the head of the stairs clad in his shirt, with his breeches in one hand. Allen demanded that the fort be delivered instantly. The British captain asked by what authority the surrender of the fort was demanded, and the Green Mountain leader replied: "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." "Damn it! What, what does this mean," stammered Delaplace, but Allen interrupted him, and with a drawn sword held over the head of the British officer called for an immediate surrender of the garrison. With the Americans already in possession there appeared to be no opportunity of successful resistance, and the fort was surrendered.

While the parley between Allen and Delaplace was going on, acting under the orders of other officers, several of the barrack doors had been beaten down and about a third of the garrison were imprisoned. According to Colonel Easton's report there was "an inconsiderable skirmish with cutlasses or bayonets, in which a small number of the enemy received some wounds." All this was accomplished in ten minutes, without loss of life or the infliction of any serious wound.

Thus, on the very morning that the Continental Congress was to assemble in Philadelphia, its authority was invoked by the leader of a band of men, most of whom acknowledged the authority of none of the thirteen American colonies, to take possession of a fortress that

bulked large in the minds of the people of two continents.

Allen says of this occasion: "The sun seemed to rise that morning with a superior lustre; and Ticonderoga and all its dependencies smiled on its conquerors, who tossed about the flowing bowl, and wished success to Congress and the liberty and freedom of America."

Seth Warner and the remainder of the party left at Hand's Cove soon arrived, and joined in the general rejoicing.

The captured troops included Captain Delaplace, Lieutenant Feltham, a conductor of artillery, a gunner, two sergeants, and forty-four rank and file, besides women and children. The officers captured at Ticonderoga were sent to Connecticut in the charge of Messrs. Hickok, Halsey, and Nichols, reaching Hartford, May 16. The other prisons reached the same place two days later in the charge of Epaphras Bull.

The ammunition and stores captured at Ticonderoga included about 120 iron cannon, from 6- to 24-pounders, fifty swivels of different sizes, two ten-inch mortars, one howitzer, one cohorn, two brass cannon, ten tons of musket balls, three cart loads of flints, thirty new carriages, a considerable quantity of shells, 100 stands of small arms, ten casks of poor powder, a warehouse full of materials for boat building, thirty barrels of flour, eighteen barrels of pork, and a quantity of beans and peas. One of the Ticonderoga cannon was known as "the Old Sow from Cape Breton" and probably was one of the prizes taken by the British at Louisbourg during the French and Indian War.

The first surrender of a British fortress, and of British troops as prisoners of war, in the long struggle for American independence, including the first lowering of His Majesty's colors, was made to Ethan Allen and his

Green Mountain Boys, and in the history of the military affairs of the United States the capture of Ticonderoga heads the list as the first important aggressive movement to be crowned with victory. It is true that Ticonderoga at this time was a fortress "of broken walls and gates," but it was by no means wholly indefensible. Had life insurance policies been in vogue in this region in the year 1775, the eighty-three men who proposed, under prevailing conditions, to capture Ticonderoga would not have been considered good risks. This fort was one of the great prizes for which France and Great Britain had contended, only a few years before, in a series of campaigns. In the public mind it represented the might and the power of Britain as surely as Gibraltar and Halifax represent the strength of the empire today. The news of its capture by a little band of untrained farmers was evidence to the Mother Country that the rebellion was, indeed, a serious matter. The tidings of Ethan Allen's victory cheered every patriot heart throughout the length and breadth of the American colonies, and its importance as an encouragement to those who sought to throw off the yoke of British oppression cannot be overestimated. To the general public it seemed that if Ticonderoga could be taken, all things were possible.

The assertion is frequently made that Allen did not demand the surrender of Ticonderoga in the historic phrase, "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," but rather in profane and vulgar language. All the trustworthy evidence, however, goes to show that the expression quoted actually was used. Allen gives the phrase in his Narrative, published at a time when the great majority of the men who participated in the capture were living. It is given by his brother, Ira Allen, who was one of the Ticonderoga party, in a his-

tory written several years after Ethan's death. It is quoted by Williams in his History of Vermont, published while survivors of the Ticonderoga expedition were still living. It is also given by Goodhue in his History of Shoreham, and an aged survivor of the immortal eighty-three told that author that Allen used the words "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Certainly this is better evidence than can be adduced for any other version, and ought to satisfy all fair-minded critics until an equal balance of testimony can be brought against it.

Immediately after the capture of Ticonderoga John Brown was sent as an express to acquaint the Continental Congress that in the name of that body this British post had been captured. Just a week after the surrender by Delaplace, Brown arrived at Philadelphia with the rather startling information of the success which had attended Allen's expedition. Apparently Congress was not overjoyed at the news of this bloodless victory. Such an important step as the capture of the King's fortress of Ticonderoga almost took away the breath of the members, and they adopted resolutions, seeking to justify the act, by declaring that they had "indubitable evidence" of a design formed by the British government to invade this region, in which event the stores and cannon would have been used against the people of the colonies. It was directed that an inventory be taken of the articles captured in order that, as the resolution reads, "they may be safely returned when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and the colonies so ardently wished for by the latter, shall render it prudent and consistent with the overruling law of self preservation." All of which indicates how little the majority of the mem-

bers of Congress realized of the nature and extent of the conflict upon which the colonies had entered.

The first news of the capture of Ticonderoga to reach the British authorities at Boston was communicated to General Gage, commanding His Majesty's forces, by means of a letter written by Dr. Joseph Warren, to John Scollay, dated at Watertown, Mass., May 17, a copy of which was procured by Gage and forwarded to Lord Dartmouth at London.

The capture of Ticonderoga was not the full measure of the American victory. As soon as Warner and his belated troops arrived at the fortress they expressed a desire for a share in the conquest. To Warner, therefore, was assigned the task of taking Crown Point, which was garrisoned by a sergeant and twelve men. In a report to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, written May 11, Colonel Arnold tells of the return of a party which had started to take Crown Point, having met with head winds, and says the expedition was "entirely laid aside." This statement clearly is untrue, for the best evidence goes to show that on the morning of the very day on which this was written, May 11, Crown Point was taken.

Allen had sent word to Capt. Remember Baker, who was at the Winooski River settlement, to bring his company, and Warner and Baker arrived before Crown Point about the same time. Baker had met and captured two small boats on the way to St. Johns to give notice of the capture of Ticonderoga.

The date of the taking of Crown Point seems to be fixed beyond question, as May 11, by a report to Governor Trumbull, the Council and General Assembly of Connecticut, dated at Crown Point May 12, and signed by Seth Warner and Peleg Sunderland in which they say:

"Yesterday we took possession of this garrison in the name of the country—we found great quantities of ordnance, stores, etc.—very little provision." The spoils at this fort included nearly 200 pieces of cannon, three mortars, sundry howitzers, fifty swivels, etc.

Capt. Samuel Herrick, who had set out for Skenesborough with about thirty men, before the capture of Ticonderoga was undertaken, reached that settlement in safety and captured Maj. Andrew Philip Skene, son of the would-be Governor Skene, about fifty tenants, and twelve negroes, also a schooner which was re-christened the *Liberty,* and several boats. The care of the Skene estate was entrusted to Capt. Noah Lee, the first settler of Castleton. Captains Oswald and Brown, with fifty men enlisted under Colonel Arnold's authority arrived at Skenesborough about this time, and joined Herrick's party, reaching Ticonderoga May 14.

Amos Callender, of Shoreham, with a small party, captured Fort George, at the southern end of Lake George, without opposition, the fort being held by Captain Nordberg of the Sixtieth Regiment and a very slender garrison.

The day following the capture of Ticonderoga Ethan Allen notified the Albany Committee of Safety, not hitherto counted among his friends and admirers, that he had taken the fortress. He warned them of the probability that Governor Carleton of Canada would exert himself to retake the post and added: "I expect immediate assistance from you, both in men and provisions. * * * I am apprehensive of a sudden and quick attack. Pray be quick to our relief and send five hundred men immediately; fail not." Writing to the Massachusetts authorities the same day, he said: "I expect the colonies will maintain this fort."

On May 12 Allen wrote to Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, opening his letter with this statement: "I make you a present of a Major, a Captain, and two Lieutenants in the regular Establishment of George the Third." Then he proceeded to tell of the plan to seize the King's armed sloop, which was cruising on the lake, and added, "I expect lives must be lost in the attack, as the commander of George's sloop is a man of courage."

A council of war was held, says Ethan Allen in his Narrative, and it was decided that Arnold should command the schooner captured at Skenesborough, while Allen should command the bateaux, in an effort to take the British sloop. On Sunday, May 13, the schooner sailed from Ticonderoga, but owing to contrary winds, Crown Point was not reached until Monday night, May 14. Arnold, chafing under the delay, with thirty men embarked in a smaller boat and started for St. Johns, leaving the command of the schooner to Captain Sloan. While beating against the wind a mail boat from Montreal was seized, and an exact list of all the King's troops in the Northern department, amounting to 700, was captured. On Wednesday, with a good breeze, the schooner made better time, and overtook Arnold, who was taken on board.

When within thirty miles of St. Johns the wind fell and the vessel was becalmed. It was now 8 o'clock in the evening, and unwilling to wait for a sailing breeze Arnold ordered two small bateaux, manned by thirty-five armed men to be fitted out. By hard rowing all night St. Johns was reached at 6 o'clock Thursday morning.

The party stopped about half a mile south of the town, concealing themselves in a small creek, and sent forward one of their number to reconnoitre. While waiting for an opportunity to fight British troops they fought great

swarms of gnats and mosquitoes, and waited with impatience for their scout to return. When he arrived he brought the information that there was no suspicion of the approach of Arnold's party but that news had reached St. Johns of the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

The party started at once for the fort and landed about sixty rods from the barracks, marching briskly upon the place. The small garrison retreated into the barracks, but surrendered without opposition. A sergeant and twelve men were taken—one authority says fourteen prisoners were captured—together with their arms and some small stores, the King's sloop with a crew of seven men, two brass six-pounders, and four bateaux. Five bateaux were destroyed so that not a single boat was left at St. Johns for the use of the King's troops.

At this time a fine breeze from the north sprang up and two hours after their arrival Arnold and his detachment were able to weigh anchor and start on the homeward trip aboard the sloop which was re-christened the *Enterprise*. The captain of the King's sloop had gone to Montreal, and was expected every hour with a detachment for an expedition to Ticonderoga and with guns and carriages for the ship. At Fort Chambly, thirteen miles to the north, a captain and forty-nine men were stationed, and it was thought likely that they might reach St. Johns at any minute. Arnold, therefore, was moved to write to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety regarding his exploit, that "it seemed to be a mere interposition of Providence that we arrived at so fortunate an hour."

A few miles south of St. Johns Arnold met Allen and his party, going north. There is much discrepancy regarding the size of Allen's force in accounts given by

different authorities. In one report Arnold says that Allen had 150 men, while in a later one he reduces the number to 80 or 100. Ira Allen says the party consisted of sixty men, while an officer, whose name is not given, but who kept a diary of the expedition, says Allen had ninety men. The two parties saluted as they met, three volleys being fired. Allen and his companions went on board the sloop, where they drank "several loyal Congress healths."

Allen was determined to proceed to St. Johns and hold the ground gained. Arnold considered this "a wild impracticable scheme," but as Allen persisted in advancing, he was supplied with provisions. Continuing northward, Allen encamped opposite St. Johns. The next morning he was attacked by 200 regular troops under Captain Anstruser, a discharge of grape shot being fired from six field pieces. Allen returned the fire, but finding that the British force was too large to resist with any hope of success he reembarked in haste, leaving three men behind. It was planned to lay an ambush for the enemy, but having been practically without rest for three days and nights, the men were so overcome by fatigue and sleep that it was necessary to abandon the idea.

Arnold's party reached Crown Point May 18 and Ticonderoga, May 19. Allen and his men arrived at Ticonderoga on the evening of May 21.

The captured British sloop was fitted with six cannon and ten swivels, and Major Skene's schooner with four guns and six swivels.

The capture and destruction of the boats at St. Johns was an important military movement, for it delayed any attempt to recapture the Lake Champlain fortresses, which were in no condition to withstand a serious attack for many months following their capture.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ALLEN-ARNOLD CONTROVERSY

NO account of the capture of Fort Ticonderoga in 1775, and the events immediately following the surrender of that fortress, can be complete that ignores the controversy that arose between Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold over the command of the troops and the post. Undoubtedly, for many years following the War for Independence, Arnold was not given the credit that was his due for the capacity and the courage that he displayed; nor is it strange that his traitorous conduct long blinded men to his deeds that deserve admiration. On the other hand, there has been a disposition on the part of some historians to belittle the part taken by Allen, and to exalt Arnold at the expense of the Green Mountain leader. This is particularly true regarding the capture of Ticonderoga, where an attempt is made to show that Arnold shared the command with Allen, and there is a broad hint that Arnold was more zealous than any other leader in the capture of the fortress.

If any event of the American Revolution is well-authenticated, it is that Ethan Allen was the commander of the expedition that captured Ticonderoga, on May 10, 1775. It is proved by the official reports; by the testimony of those participating in the battle; by the newspaper accounts of the period; and last, but by no means least, by the statement of Captain Delaplace, the commandant of the captured fort, who was in a position to know with certainty the identity of the officers to whom he surrendered.

Arnold's efforts to secure the command, begun at Castleton, and renewed before the attack upon the fort-

ress, again were manifested soon after Ticonderoga was taken. He challenged Allen's authority to command, and insisted that the chief position was his by right. This demand angered the soldiers to such a degree that they paraded, "and declared that they would go right home, for they would not be commanded by Arnold," according to the testimony of an eye witness. The men were pacified by a promise that there should be no change in commanders, Arnold being informed that as he had raised no men he could not expect to command those raised by other officers. This was before the arrival of the Massachusetts men who came with Captain Herrick by way of Skenesborough. As Arnold insisted that he was the only officer having "legal orders to show," Edward Mott, chairman of the Committee of War for this expedition, wrote an order directing Ethan Allen to keep (not take) the command of the garrison of Ticonderoga and its dependencies until he received further orders from the colony of Connecticut or the Continental Congress.

Arnold's regimental memorandum book shows that he felt much chagrin at his failure to secure the command.

On May 11 Allen reported the capture of the fort to the Massachusetts Congress, signing his name as "Commander of Ticonderoga." Writing to Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, on May 12, he signed the communication as "at present commander of Ticonderoga." Did he, at this time, consider his tenure of office insecure?

Capt. Elisha Phelps, commissary of the Ticonderoga expedition, a brother of Capt. Noah Phelps, writing to the Connecticut Legislature, May 16, reported "a great quarrel with Col. Arnold who shall command the Fort, even that some of the soldiers threaten the life of Col. Arnold."

Barnabas Deane, in a letter written to his brother Silas, June 1, tells of a recent visit to Crown Point, where he found "a very critical situation," owing to the differences between Allen and Arnold, "which had risen to a great height." He said that "Col. Allen is cooled down some since his unsuccessful attempt at St. Johns." Mr. Deane declared that he and Colonel Webb, who accompanied him, "had an arduous task to reconcile matters between the two commanders at Crown Point, which I hope is settled for the present. Col. Allen made a public declaration that he would take no command on himself but give it up entirely to Col. Arnold until matters were regulated and an officer appointed to take command."

Deane reported that Arnold had been fired upon twice, and that a musket had been presented at his breast by one of the opposition party, with a threat to "fire him through" if he refused to comply with orders given. It was represented that some of the Connecticut people were hostile to Arnold, whom Deane praised highly, saying that had it not been for him "no man's person would be safe that was not of the Green Mountain party." He fails to add that there would have been no "Green Mountain party" had it not been for Arnold's consuming ambition to command an expedition which other men had raised and financed. Deane appears to have been strongly prejudiced against Allen and his associates, and he intimated in his letter that "their design appears to me to hold those places [the forts] as a security to their lands against any that may oppose them." Subsequent events proved this ridiculous charge to be baseless.

On May 14 Arnold wrote to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety: "Mr. Allen's party is decreasing, and the dispute between us is subsiding." It is probable that many of the Green Mountain Boys left the fort soon after

its capture. They had responded to an emergency call, leaving their families unprotected. It was the season for plowing and planting, and the extreme poverty of the people, to which allusion already has been made, was an urgent reason why the volunteers should leave the camp for the farm at the earliest possible moment in order that the raising of crops might not be delayed.

In writing to the Albany Committee of Safety from Ticonderoga, on May 22, Arnold signed himself as commander, and in a letter written the following day he used the title of commander-in-chief. It is significant that in a letter written at Crown Point, May 26, to the Connecticut General Assembly, dealing with a missive sent to the Indians by a council of officers, Allen signed himself simply, "Colonel of the Green Mountain Boys." Arnold was also at Crown Point that day, and was issuing orders.

Writing to the Continental Congress from Crown Point, May 29, Arnold says: "Some dispute arising between Col. Allen and myself prevented my carrying my order into execution until the 16th." In a letter written the same day to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, he says: "Colonel Allen has entirely given up command." Allen was at Crown Point on May 29, as a letter written that day to the Continental Congress shows.

As early as May 27 the Massachusetts Congress alluded to fears expressed by Arnold that attempts were being made to injure his character, and he was informed that he would have an opportunity to vindicate his conduct. On June 1 the Massachusetts Congress expressed regret that Arnold should make repeated requests that a successor should be appointed, assured him that that body had the greatest confidence in his "fidelity, knowledge, courage, and good conduct," and advised him "at present"

to dismiss the thought of giving up the command of the Massachusetts forces on Lake Champlain.

On June 4, Allen, with Colonel Easton, wrote a letter to the Canadians from Ticonderoga and signed himself "at present the principal commander of this army." This may have been simply a determination on the part of Allen to make at least a show of reasserting his right to command; or it may have been due to a weakening of Arnold's authority, soon to be entirely overthrown. About a week later, on the tenth day of June, eighteen officers at Crown Point, including Colonel Easton, Maj. Samuel Elmer, of Connecticut, Seth Warner, Remember Baker, Ira Allen, and others, united in an address to the Continental Congress regarding affairs, and named Ethan Allen, Warner, and Baker a committee to consult with Congress. The document concludes as follows:

"Colonel Allen has behaved in this affair [referring presumably to the capture of Ticonderoga] very singularly remarkable for his courage and must in duty recommend him to you and to the whole Continent." This address would seem to indicate that Allen had a considerable following at that time among the officers at the Lake Champlain forts.

Arnold wrote to the Continental Congress from Crown Point on June 13, signing himself as commanding officer. In his letter he discussed a proposed Canadian expedition, and added parenthetically and significantly, "no Green Mountain Boys."

The Massachusetts Congress, on June 14, appointed a committee consisting of Walter Spooner, Jedediah Foster, and James Sullivan, to investigate conditions at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, including Arnold's conduct. This committee was given power to discharge Arnold if, in their judgment, it was proper to do so. Evidently

charges of a serious nature had been brought against Arnold to warrant an investigation if his conduct with power given to the committee to discharge him. The provincial Congress had sent Col. Joseph Henshaw to Hartford instructing him, in the event that Connecticut had arranged for garrisoning Ticonderoga, to go to the fort, with orders for Arnold to return to Massachusetts, settle his account, and be discharged. Colonel Henshaw learned that Connecticut had sent Colonel Hinman with a thousand men to hold Ticonderoga until New York was ready to relieve him. Henshaw did not go to Ticonderoga himself, however, but sent a letter acquainting Arnold with the turn events had taken.

When Hinman arrived at Ticonderoga Arnold refused to recognize the Connecticut colonel as his superior officer. Instead, he transferred the command of Ticonderoga to Captain Herrick, from whom Hinman's men were obliged to take orders. If they refused to submit they were not permitted to pass to and from the garrison. Such was the condition of affairs which the Massachusetts investigators found upon their arrival at Lake Champlain. The committee reported, as a result of their investigations, that a mutiny arose among some of Arnold's men, "which seemed to be attended with dangerous symptoms"; but they were able, with the aid of Judge Duer, of Charlotte County to quell it.

Edward Mott, chairman of the Committee of War which made the plans for the capture of Ticonderoga, wrote Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, at some length regarding this incident. According to his account the Massachusetts committee went to Crown Point with orders that Arnold should turn over the command to Colonel Hinman, which he positively refused to do. The committee thereupon discharged Arnold from the service.

The refusal to yield the command to Hinman is corroborated by the committee's report to the provincial Congress, which says: "Your Committee informed the said Arnold of their commission, and, at his request, gave him a copy of their instructions; upon reading of which he seemed greatly disconcerted, and declared he would not be second in command to any person whomsoever."

Mott further reported that the committee were refused the privilege of speaking to Arnold's soldiers; that Arnold and some of his men went on board the vessels, threatening to go to St. Johns and deliver the boats to the British; that Arnold disbanded all his troops but those on the vessels; that those who tried to communicate with Arnold were ill treated, being fired upon with a swivel gun and small arms after they came away from the vessels in a bateau. Later, Mott secured permission from Colonel Hinman to make an attempt to settle the difficulty. Colonel Sullivan, of the Massachusetts committee, Lieutenant Halsey, Judge Duer, Mott, and a party of men to row the boat proceeded to Arnold's vessels, as Mott tells the story, reaching there at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. On going aboard they were treated like prisoners, being guarded until evening by men with fixed bayonets. It is recorded that Colonel Sullivan "was much insulted while we were on board the vessels, chiefly by Mr. Brown, one of Colonel Arnold's captains." After being released, a report of the indignities inflicted was made to Colonel Hinman, who ordered Lieutenant Halsey with twenty-five men to return to the vessels, get what men he could to join him, and bring one or more vessels to the fort. The next day the matter was settled.

Arnold resigned his command on June 24. In his letter of resignation he said that the action of the pro-

vincial Congress in dealing with him was a most disgraceful reflection on him and the body of troops he commanded. Soon after his resignation he returned to New Haven, Conn.

It is not strange that Gen. Philip Schuyler was moved, on July 11, to write the Continental Congress concerning this affair as follows: "The unhappy controversy which has subsisted between the officers at Ticonderoga relative to the command has, I am informed, thrown everything into vast confusion. Troops have been dismissed, others refuse to serve if this or that man command. The sloop is without either captain or pilot, both of which are dismissed or come away. I shall hurry up there much sooner than the necessary preparations would otherwise permit, that I may attempt discipline amongst them."

From such information as may be obtained it would appear that Arnold did most of the commanding at both Ticonderoga and Crown Point after the first few days following the capture, until the Massachusetts committee appeared, refitting the captured boats, repairing barracks, sending one party to the mouth of the Winooski River, and another toward St. Johns. In all of Allen's correspondence he appears to have made no attack upon Arnold; but as much cannot be said for Arnold, whose letters refer in uncomplimentary terms to Allen and his Green Mountain Boys, as illustrated by the remark in a letter to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety that "Colonel Allen is a proper man to head his own wild people, but entirely unacquainted with military service."

There is much to admire in the dashing bravery and undoubted capacity shown by Benedict Arnold later in this war. It is also true that his capture of the sloop at St. Johns displayed skill and courage, and his conduct of affairs at the Champlain forts during parts of May and

June showed activity and ability of no mean order; but the Ticonderoga chapter of Arnold's career, taken as a whole, is a discreditable one. History is able to give, and will give, the man his just due for his brilliant exploits at Quebec, in the naval battle on Lake Champlain, and at Saratoga, without the necessity of attempting to rob Ethan Allen of his well-earned laurels or to defame the memory of the sturdy pioneers who rallied to the standard of the Green Mountain leader in the early days of May, 1775. The history of the Ticonderoga expedition shows Arnold's inordinate ambition; his desire to secure the chief command, and the greatest glory, no matter how irregular might be the means employed; a disposition to bear false witness against his rivals in his letters and reports; and insubordination when deprived of power that foreshadowed his traitorous conduct at West Point at a later day. These qualities of the man cannot be excused or ignored unless one prefers to offer an attorney's brief for Arnold, rather than to present historical facts in an impartial manner.

With the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, military operations on Lake Champlain practically were at a standstill for several months. Soon after the news of the taking of these forts was received, the Continental Congress "earnestly recommended" the removal of the military stores and ordnance to a post to be established at the southern end of Lake George. This was a proposition showing such an amazing lack of military foresight, and one that aroused such a storm of protest throughout New England, that it deserves more than passing notice; for it shows very clearly what the people of that region, at that time, thought of the strategic importance of Lake Champlain and its fortresses.

As early as May 27, 1775, the Massachusetts Congress informed the Continental Congress that "if that post [Ticonderoga] is abandoned ths whole of Lake Champlain will be abandoned to Canada, and the command of that water will amazingly facilitate all such descents upon these colonies, whether greater or less, which Administration shall see fit to order. But if that post should be held by the Colonies, all such attempts for the destruction of the colonies may be vastly obstructed, if not wholly defeated."

On May 29 the Massachusetts Congress sent a letter to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, dealing with the proposed abandonment of the Champlain forts, which read in part, as follows: "We cannot conceal from the General Assembly of your colony that we should be to the last degree agitated if we really supposed that the said resolution of the General Congress touching Ticonderoga and said posts on Lake Champlain, was their ultimatum and that they would not reconsider that resolution. * * *

"The maintaining that post is not only practicable and, under God, in the power of the colonies, but of inexpressible necessity for the defense of the Colony of New York and all the New England colonies. * * * In the view of a post of observation, we beg leave to observe that all movements from Canada, intended against New England or New York, by the way of Lake Champlain whether by scalping parties or large bodies, whether in the winter or open seasons of the year, may almost certainly be discovered so seasonably as that the blow may be generally warded off; whereas, if the post at William Henry be the only one kept, it is probable that three-fourths of the attempts on the frontier of New York and New England by Champlain will never be known until

executed. * * * If we abandon the post at Ticonderoga the enemy will infallibly seize it; and in that case, what annoyance can we give Canada by the way of Champlain by means of a fortified post at William Henry? * * * We beg leave just to hint that a fortified station on the easterly side of South Bay, on Lake Champlain, opposite to Ticonderoga or Crown Point, or still further on, affords great advantage for the maintaining of Ticonderoga, and defending the settlements on the easterly side of Lake Champlain, and there is artillery enough to spare to other places; and if we abandon the land between the Lakes George and Champlain we shall give the enemy an opportunity to build at or near the points; and by that means we shall lose the whole of Lake Champlain, and the shipping we now have on that lake, by which we can command the whole of it and keep the enemy at a distance of a hundred miles from our English settlements near Otter Creek, etc.; but if that fortress should be maintained we shall have those very settlements to support it, which will not be half the charge that it would be to maintain a sufficient number of soldiers so far from their homes. We have there four or five hundred hardy men with families, who, if those grounds should be abandoned, will be driven from their settlements and leave the Massachusetts and New Hampshire people naked, without any barrier, and exposed to the Canadians and savages, who will have a place of retreat at the point as they had almost the whole of the last war. By abandoning this ground we give up an acquisition which cost immense sums of money, the loss of many lives, and five campaigns.

"As to the expense of maintaining of fortress at Ticonderoga, this colony will not fail to exert themselves to the utmost of their power."

The Massachusetts committee sent to investigate affairs at Ticonderoga and Crown Point during the Allen-Arnold controversy informed Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, that in their opinion "the abandoning the posts on Lake Champlain would probably prove the utter ruin of the New England Governments."

A letter from the New Hampshire Congress to the Continental Congress, dated June 2, says: "A late order of your respectable Congress for the demolition of the fortress of Ticonderoga, and removal of the artillery from thence, has very much damped the expectation of the people in this colony, arising from the security our frontiers hoped to receive by the check the Canadians and savages might receive in any incursion on us by a good garrison there. * * * Our new settlements extended on Connecticut River for a hundred miles, are very defenseless in every respect, and under terrible apprehensions from the accounts of the warlike preparations making in Canada against the colony." The letter then asks that the order be reviewed and countermanded. The New York Congress was informed of the request made, and the statement is made that "we esteem that fortress [Ticonderoga] to be a place truly important to the welfare of all these Northern Colonies in general and to this Colony in particular."

Naturally Ethan Allen was greatly disturbed by the suggestion that the post which he and his men had taken should be abandoned, and on May 29 he wrote the Continental Congress on this subject, saying: "I am * * * much surprised that your Honours should I recommend it to me to remove the artillery to the south end of Lake George, and there to make a stand; the consequences of which must ruin the frontier settlements, which are extended at least one hundred miles to the northwest from

that place. Probably your Honours were not informed of those settlements which consist of several thousand families who are seated in that tract of country called the New Hampshire Grants.

"The misfortune and real injury to those inhabitants by making the south end of Lake George the northernmost point of protection will more fully appear from the following consideration, namely: It was at the special request and solicitation of the Governments of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut that those very inhabitants put their lives into the hand of their Governments, and made those valuable acquisitions for the Colonies. By doing it they have incensed Governor Carleton and all the ministerial party in Canada against them; and provided they should, after all their good service in behalf of their Country, be neglected and left exposed, they will be of all men most consummately miserable."

Allen proceeded to point out the immense advantage the possession of the lake would give if an aggressive Canadian policy were pursued thus "forming the frontier near the country of the enemy."

Benedict Arnold also addressed the Continental Congress on this important subject, in a letter dated May 29, in which he said: "I must beg leave to observe, gentlemen, that the reports of Ticonderoga's being abandoned have thrown the inhabitants here into the greatest consternation. There are about five hundred families to the northward of Ticonderoga, who, if it is evacuated, will be left at the mercy of the King's Troops and Indians, and who have, part of them, joined the Army, and cannot now remain neuter, to whom a remove would be entire ruin, as they have large families and no dependence but a promising crop in the ground. I need not add to this,

gentlemen, that Ticonderoga is the key of this extensive country, and if abandoned. leaves a very extensive frontier open to the ravages of the enemy, and to continued alarms, which will probably cost more than the expense of repairing and garrisoning it."

Perhaps the most vigorous of all the protests against abandoning Ticonderoga was made by Joseph Hawley, called the "Nestor of the Massachusetts patriots," who, writing to Joseph Warren from Northampton, June 9, said: "I heartily wish that every member of our Congress, yea, every inhabitant of the Province, had a true idea of the infinite importance and consequence of that station [Ticonderoga]. If Britain, while they are in hostility against New England, hold that post, they will by means thereof be able to do more to vanquish and subdue us from that quarter than they will be able to do in all other parts of the Continent; yea, more than they could do in all other parts of the globe. If Britain should regain and hold that place they will be able soon to harass and waste by the savages, all the borders of New England eastward of Hudson River and southwest of Lake Champlain, and the River St. Lawrence, and shortly, by the Lake Champlain, to march an army to Hudson's River to subdue the feeble and sluggish efforts of the inhabitants on that river, and so connect Montreal and New York; and then New England, will be wholly environed by sea and land, east, west, north and south. The chain of the Colonies will be irreparably broken; the whole Province of New York will be fully taken into the interest of the Administration; and this very pass of Ticonderoga is the post and spot where all this mischief may be withstood and arrested; but if that is relinquished or taken from us, destruction must come in upon us like a flood.

"I am bold to say (for I can maintain it) that the General Congress would have not advised to so destructive a measure if they had recommended and prescribed that our whole Army, which now invests Boston should instantly decamp, and march with all the baggage and artillery to Worcester, and suffer Gage's army to ravage what part of the country they pleased. Good God! what could be their plan. If they intend defense, they must be unacquainted with the geography of the country, or never adverted to the matter. The design of seizing that post was gloriously conceived; but to what purpose did our forces light there, if they are now to fly away from there. Certainly to no good purpose, but to very bad and destructive purposes; for by this step General Carleton is alarmed. Whereas if the step had not been taken, his proceedings might have been slow and with some leisure; but now, if he is worthy of command, he will exert himself to the utmost and proceed with dispatch. If we maintain the post, the measure of taking it was glorious. If we abandon it, the step will turn out to have been a destructive one."

Congress heeding the protests that were made, decided to maintain the post at Ticonderoga, overwhelming evidence of its importance being furnished from many sources.

In November, 1775, the task of transporting to Boston, for use in the siege of that town, some of the cannon captured at Ticonderoga, was assigned to Col. Henry Knox. The American army before Boston lacked the heavy ordnance needed and no foundries for making cannon were available. Late in November Washington wrote General Schuyler that he was in very great need of powder, lead, mortars, cannon, and nearly all kinds of

artillery stores, and urged that all that could be spared from Ticonderoga be sent to him at Boston.

On November 27, Knox, who was at New York, wrote to Washington: "I shall set out by land tomorrow morning for Ticonderoga, and proceed with the utmost dispatch, as knowing our whole dependence for cannon will be from that post." Knox caused forty-two "exceedingly strong" sleds to be made, and with eighty yoke of oxen the guns were taken to Lake George, and thence to Albany. While crossing the Hudson River on the ice, one of the cannon fell into the stream, but it was recovered the next day with the assistance of the people of Albany. The route followed was by way of Great Barrington, Mass., and Springfield, to Boston. At the end of ten weeks Knox reached Boston with fifty-five cannon and received the congratulations of General Washington.

An interesting incident of this expedition was the meeting on a stormy winter night, in a little cabin on the shore of Lake George, between Knox and a young British officer who had been taken prisoner at St. Johns. He was being taken to Lancaster, Pa., to be held for exchange, and by chance on this night shared, not only the same cabin, but the same bed with Knox. This British captive was John Andre. Had Knox been permitted to read what the future held in store for himself and his companion, he would have learned that later in this war just begun, there would fall to his lot the sad duty of sitting as one of the judges at a court martial, and condemning to death as a spy, implicated in Arnold's treason, this charming young officer whose conversation he found so enjoyable.

Thus it will be seen that the capture of the post of Ticonderoga made it possible to supply Washington with

the artillery so necessary for conducting a successful siege. Without the guns from Ticonderoga it is at least possible that the British would not have been driven from Boston. Had Washington failed in this enterprise, perhaps the American Revolution would have been simply an American rebellion. But this is one of the "ifs" of history.

CHAPTER IX

THE INVASION OF CANADA

THE idea of invading Canada followed, almost immediately, the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

When Ethan Allen made his first journey to St. Johns, after the capture of the King's sloop by Arnold, on May 18, he forwarded a letter directed to "Mr. James Morrison and the merchants that are friendly to the cause of liberty in Montreal," asking for assistance and cooperation. He requested that they send to him at St. Johns, "forthwith and without further notice," provisions, ammunition, and spirituous liquors to the amount of five hundred pounds.

In Allen's letter to the Continental Congress, written May 29, he declared that if he had had 500 men with him at St. Johns he could have advanced to Montreal. He added: "Nothing strengthens our friends in Canada equal to our prosperity in taking the sovereignty of Lake Champlain; and should the colonies forthwith send an army of two or three thousand men, and attack Montreal we should have little to fear from the Canadians or Indians, and would easily set up the standard of liberty in the extensive Province of Quebec, whose limit was enlarged purely to subvert the liberties of America. Striking such a blow would intimidate the Tory party in Canada the same as the commencement of the war at Boston intimidated the Tories in the colonies. They are a set of gentlemen that will not be converted by reason but are easily wrought upon by fear. Advancing an army into Canada will be agreeable to our friends; and it is bad policy to fear the resentment of an enemy."

Congress was unwilling at this time to authorize such an aggressive act as the invasion of Canada. Subsequent events showed that Allen was right in urging an immediate invasion of the province as a prudent military movement. The British force under Carleton's command at that time was small, and had Allen's advice been followed it is probable that Canada could have been captured with comparative ease.

Allen wrote to the New York Congress on June 2: "I will lay my life on it that with fifteen hundred men and a proper train of artillery, I will take Montreal. Provided I could be thus furnished, and if an army could command the field, it would be no insuperable difficulty to take Quebec." At this period the Canadians were inclined to be friendly to the Americans, and Carleton experienced great difficulty in enlisting men for his army.

William Gilliland, of Westport, N. Y., writing to the Continental Congress on May 29, called attention to a British post at Point au Fer, on the west side of the lake, seven miles south of the Canadian boundary line, where a large stone house was built during the summer of 1774. There were strong ball proof brick sentry boxes at each corner commanding every inch of ground about the house. In these sentry boxes, and in the large, dry cellar under the house, were forty-four portholes. Gilliland urged that by throwing up a breastwork around the stone house and providing a few cannon for defense, it might be used with great effect as a fortification to check any British advance up the lake. He added: "I must beg leave to observe to you that there are now in these parts a very considerable number of men under the command of Mr. Ethan Allen, as brave as Hercules, and as good marksmen as can be found in North America, who might prove immediately serviceable to the common cause were

they regularly embodied and commanded by officers of their own choice, subordinate to whoever has or may be appointed commander-in-chief or to the instructions of the Grand Congress. These men, being excellent wood rangers, and particularly acquainted in the wilderness of Lake Champlain, would, in all likelihood, be more serviceable in these parts than treble their number of others not having these advantages, especially if left under the directions of their present enterprising and heroic commander, Mr. Allen."

Pres. John Hancock of the Continental Congress wrote to the New York Congress, on June 24, 1775, regarding the employment of the Green Mountain Boys in the service, an expression of opinion, which, to be understood, should be read with the thought in mind that a border warfare had been waged for several years between this band and the New York provincial government, their leaders having been declared outlaws. In this letter Hancock said: "The Congress are of the opinion that the employing of the Green Mountain Boys in the American Army would be advantageous to the common cause, as well on account of their situation as of their disposition and alertness, they are desirous you should embody them among the Troops you shall raise." Subsequently a regiment was raised on the New Hampshire Grants, of which Seth Warner was chosen commander over Ethan Allen.

Naturally Allen was disappointed, as he had been the leader of the Green Mountain Boys from the beginning of the controversy with New York over the lands on the New Hampshire Grants, and the dispatches of that period refer to a sharp controversy between Allen and Warner. In a letter to Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, the hero of Ticonderoga alludes to his disappoint-

ment as follows: "Notwithstanding my zeal and success in my Country's cause, the old farmers on the New Hampshire Grants, who do not incline to go to war, have met in a committee meeting and in their nomination of officers for the Regiment of Green Mountain Boys who are quickly to be raised, have wholly omitted me: but as the commissions will come from the Continental Congress, I hope they will remember me, as I desire to remain in the service."

Colonel Hinman, in command at Ticonderoga, was not an efficient or forceful officer. The Massachusetts committee, at the time of their visit to the forts, had appointed Colonel Easton as commander of their provincial troops at Lake Champlain, under Hinman. John Brown was designated as major, and Jonas Fay, as surgeon. General Schuyler was directed by order of Congress, to assume command of the district including Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and when he arrived at the lake on July 18 he was greatly distressed over conditions existing there. Provisions were short and Schuyler considered that there had been "a very considerable waste or embezzlement."

On the very day of Schuyler's arrival at Ticonderoga he wrote Washington in disgust, and almost in derision, of what he considered Hinman's incompetence. The Connecticut colonel evidently had simply waited for the arrival of his superior officer, without taking any aggressive attitude. Schuyler draws a graphic picture of his arrival at the landing place at the north end of Lake George at 10 o'clock the night before, only to find the guards sound asleep. An investigation showed a great shortage of ammunition, not a nail or other materials for boat building, and the fact that the troops were very poorly armed.

Schuyler began work with vigor, repaired the sawmills, and endeavored to get together the supplies so urgently needed. He complained that Connecticut had made such generous allowance for her troops that the fact was likely to breed dissatisfaction among the soldiers from other colonies. Fifty milch cows had been sent up for the Connecticut regiment at a time when the pasturage was very short for the working oxen and fat cattle intended for beef for the troops, owing to what Schuyler called "the severest drouth ever known in this country." These cattle were ordered back to New England.

Jeremiah Halsey had been appointed by Colonel Hinman "commodore of all armed vessels and crafts on Lakes Champlain and George," a high sounding title for a fleet consisting of one schooner and one sloop. In a letter to Benjamin Franklin, Schuyler wrote that when he arrived at Ticonderoga he did not find craft sufficient to move 200 men. Halsey was soon superseded as "commodore" by James Smith, of New York, who took command of the sloop *Enterprise,* which vessel, he said, was "of very little use to the service." James Stewart was given command of the schooner *Liberty.*

Very soon after the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the expeditions of Allen and Arnold to St. Johns, General Carleton, the British commander in Canada, sent all the troops he could spare to fortify St. Johns. From Quebec he had obtained all the ship carpenters he could procure, and under the direction of Capt. Zachary Taylor they had proceeded to build vessels to replace the sloop and bateaux captured or burned by Arnold.

Maj. John Brown left Crown Point July 24 with four men on a scouting expedition and arrived in Canada

on July 30, after a most fatiguing march, part of the way through a vast swamp. Brown was pursued and surrounded, but escaped by jumping out of rear window of a house. He was followed for two days, but by the help of friendly Canadians he escaped. He returned by way of Missisquoi Bay, where he obtained a small canoe, and on August 10 reached Crown Point.

Brown reported that there were about 700 troops in Canada. There were 300 at St. Johns, 50 at Quebec, and the others were distributed at various posts, including Montreal and Chambly. He found the Canadians friendly, and in a report to Governor Trumbull he declared: "Now, Sir, is the time to carry Canada. It may be done with great ease and little cost, and I have no doubt but the Canadians would join us."

Schuyler bent his energies to the building of boats, and on August 23 was able to report that he had craft sufficient to move about 1,300 men with twenty days' provisions. Two flat bottomed boats, 60 feet long, had been built, each capable of carrying five 12-pounders; but, unfortunately, there was a lack of gun carriages.

After much effort troops were assembled for a Canadian expedition. On August 25 an officer at Ticonderoga wrote that there were about 1,200 men at that post. In describing conditions he said that there was an abundance of salt and fresh provisions, and that the soldiers were allowed each day a gill of rum and as much spruce beer as they could drink, "so that they have no occasion to drink the lake water, it being reckoned very unhealthy." The idea that the lake water was unhealthy, or poisonous, which prevailed for a considerable period, is said to have been due to the appearance at certain times of a white scum on the surface, which gave forth an offensive odor under the direct rays of the sun.

More than the spruce beer, however, was needed to make the men healthy. Schuyler wrote to Washington on August 6 that the troops "are crowded in vile barracks which, with the natural inattention of the soldiery to cleanliness has already been productive of disease." On August 14, 146 men were sick in Hinman's regiment, and 48 out of 196 in Colonel Easton's regiment. The troops sickened rapidly. There was a lack of tents and hospital stores, and Schuyler gave to the regimental surgeons the supply of wine which he had brought for his own table, the General being accustomed to good living. From July 20 to September 25, 726 men were discharged on account of illness.

About the middle of August, Capt. Remember Baker, who had been detailed to do scouting service, with a few men was reconnoitering in the Richelieu River, near the mouth of a tributary called the Lacolle. The party left their bateau on the river bank and some Indians made off with it. Discovering the savages in the act, Baker's men fired, wounding several of the party. The fire was returned and one white man was killed. The Americans having fled, the Indians returned and cut off the head of their victim. His papers were taken and showed that the man slain was Captain Remember Baker, one of the ablest of the leaders of the Green Mountain Boys. His death is said to have been the first blood of the Revolutionary War shed on Canadian soil. Baker's head was taken to St. Johns and placed on a pole, where it is said to have remained for some time, although some writers assert that the gory trophy was carried to Montreal Schuyler was considerably disturbed by this skirmish, as he feared it would estrange the Indians, whose friendship he had been working hard to obtain.

Gen. Richard Montgomery, second in command under Schuyler, arrived at Ticonderoga August 17. On August 30 he left Crown Point, for the north, with 1,200 men, and the Canadian invasion was begun. That night the troops encamped at Gilliland's settlement at Westport. Gilliland, and Moses Pierson, of Shelburne, on the east side of the lake, had organized a company of Minute Men, about thirty being recruited at Willsboro and fifteen at Shelburne. Gilliland was the captain and Pierson was a lieutenant. Gilliland furnished some of the boats for the expedition and conducted Montgomery down the lake, which he knew thoroughly from an experience of ten years. The next day, August 31, after passing the high point of Isle La Motte, the army stopped at a fine sandy beach on the island, to await the arrival of General Schuyler. He arrived on September 4, and the same day the army departed for Isle aux Noix, in the Richelieu River, one of the French strongholds taken by the British in 1760. Schuyler was ambitious to lead the army of invasion in person, but his condition of health made this impossible. His illness, resulting from a bilious fever and a violent attack of rheumatism, compelled him to abandon the expedition, and on September 16 he was put into a covered boat and started for Ticonderoga. About an hour from Isle aux Noix he met Col. Seth Warner with 170 Green Mountain Boys, being, as he says, "the first that had appeared of that vaunted corps." This statement proves that Warner's men did not leave Crown Point with the main body of the army, and did not camp at Isle La Motte with Montgomery.

The American army received further reinforcements from time to time. A New York officer, writing September 14, said he intended to leave Ticonderoga the next day for Isle aux Noix, having been detained for

want of boats, and on October 22 General Wooster's regiment of 335 men sailed rather reluctantly from Ticonderoga to join Montgomery.

Evidently there had been some apprehension lest the Indian settlement on the Missisquoi should cause trouble, and an allusion is made in the documents of the period to the fact that certain New Hampshire companies were guarding the frontier against the attack of the "Missisque" Indians. On August 19 General Montgomery had requested Colonel Bedel to take three companies of New Hampshire Rangers, and march "with all dispatch" to the mouth of the Winooski River, taking care to give the General such notice as would enable him to supply the necessary boats and provisions. On August 31 General Schuyler directed Bedel to join him without delay at Isle aux Noix, but there was some delay in leaving the Winooski River station owing to a lack of boats.

Meanwhile Schuyler returned to Ticonderoga, where his health was somewhat improved, and proceeded to hasten the forwarding of provisions to the army of invasion. In a letter to the Continental Congress he said: "If I had not arrived here, even on the very day I did, as sure as God lives, the Army would have starved."

With a few brief intervals General Schuyler had been engaged in the most arduous and distracting labor at Ticonderoga since the middle of July. His illness, and the hardships he had endured, moved him to relieve his mind in a letter written to John Hancock, and dated at Ticonderoga, September 25, in which he says: "The vexation of spirit under which I labour, that a barbarous complication of disorders should prevent me from reaping the laurels for which I have so unweariedly wrought since I was honoured with the command; the anxiety I have suffered since my arrival here lest the army should

starve, occasioned by a scandalous want of subordination and inattention to my orders in some of the officers that I left to command at the different posts; the vast variety of disagreeable and vexatious incidents that almost every hour arise in some department or other, not only retard my cure, but have put me considerably back for some days past. If Job had been the General in my situation, his memory had not been so famous for patience."

On October 11 John Hancock wrote Schuyler, saying: "It is the determination of Congress at all events to keep the command of Lake Champlain. They would, therefore, have the most effectual means adopted for that purpose." It was also decided that Ticonderoga and Crown Point should be put into such a state of defense "as might be needed." This was a notable departure from the timid policy adopted by Congress when the news of Allen's victory first reached that body.

Schuyler informed Hancock that Congress alluded to a garrison for Crown Point, evidently "on a supposition that there is a fortification at that place, whereas there is none." Without explanation it would appear strange that a post upon which the British government expended two millions of pounds sterling only sixteen years before, making it one of the great fortresses of North America, now should be only a ruin. It appears, however, that not many years after Fort Amherst was built, by accident, it caught fire. The flames were communicated to the powder magazine containing ninety-six barrels, and the explosion that followed practically ruined the fort, throwing down the upper stories of the barracks. The shock was distinctly felt ten miles away, and shook the surrounding country like an earthquake. These ruins, however, are said to be the most complete and imposing today of any ancient fortification in America.

On November 8 the Continental Congress sent Robert R. Livingston, Robert Treat Paine, and J. Langdon to Ticonderoga as a committee to consult with Schuyler regarding the condition of the forts and the number of men needed to reinforce the Canadian army.

The American army had not been inactive across the border. Arnold, after almost incredible labor and suffering, had penetrated the Kennebec wilderness, threaded the Canadian forests, and proceeded to Point aux Trembles, on the St. Lawrence River, twenty miles above Quebec.

Without any active command, Ethan Allen had "preached politics" to the French-Canadian people, seeking to win them to the American cause toward which, at first, they were favorably disposed. A little later, with a handful of men, mostly Canadian recruits, Allen rather rashly had attempted to capture Montreal. Not only did he fail, but he was taken prisoner on September 25 and sent to England in irons, thus disappearing from active participation in the War for Independence almost at its beginning. Isle aux Noix was fortified by the Americans, and on October 18 Fort Chambly was taken by a detachment under Majors Brown and Livingston. Montgomery proceeded to invest St. Johns. Carleton with one thousand troops, regulars, Canadians, and Indians, set out to raise the siege. Attempting to land at Longueil, the British commander was repulsed by Col Seth Warner and a party of 300 men, mostly Green Mountain Boys, who had secreted themselves on the river bank. Warner then erected a battery at the mouth of the Richelieu to prevent Carleton from advancing toward St. Johns.

On November 2 Major Preston, commandant at St. Johns, surrendered that important post to General Mont-

gomery, and the prisoners were ordered to be taken to Reading, Lancaster, and York, Pa. As previously stated John Andre was one of the prisoners captured. Thus a notable victory was won in spite of jealousy and insubordination in the American army.

Following up his success, Montgomery took possession of Montreal ten days later. Then he proceeded down the St. Lawrence, and on December 1 joined Arnold at Point aux Trembles.

Warner's Green Mountain Boys had enlisted as volunteers, and not being supplied with suitable clothing for camping out of doors in a Canadian winter, they were honorably discharged on November 20, and returned to their homes.

Up to the time when Montgomery and Arnold united their forces, the American advance had been practically a succession of victories. The remainder of the campaign was destined to be a succession of defeats.

It is not the purpose of this book to give in detail the history of the Canadian campaign, with the exception of those phases that concern the valley of Lake Champlain; but a brief summary of operations is needed to make the Champlain portion of the record intelligible. In the early morning hours of the last day of the year 1775, in a blinding snow storm, an attempt was made to take Quebec by assault. The attempt failed disastrously. General Montgomery, one of the most capable officers produced during this war, was mortally wounded, and died in the arms of Capt. Aaron Burr. General Arnold was severely wounded and was carried from the field. General Morgan fought on in the storm and the cold with his detachment until half of his men were killed, and then surrendered. The remainder of the American army retired

up the river about three miles and there spent the rest of the winter, enduring great suffering and privation.

By the death of Montgomery the command of the American army in Canada fell to General Wooster, who had been left in command at Montreal. On January 6, 1776, Wooster wrote to Col. Seth Warner imploring him to send reinforcements of his Green Mountain Boys and urging that he should not wait until a full regiment was mustered, but that the soldiers should "be sent on by tens, twenties, thirties, forties or fifties, as fast as they can be collected." Warner responded promptly, and both Schuyler and Washington praised him for his zeal. The Green Mountain Boys were sent to Quebec, where many contracted smallpox, and some died.

Learning that affairs were going badly in Canada, the Continental Congress appointed a commission to make an investigation, hoping that the Canadian people might still be won over to the American cause, and join the army of invasion in opposition to British rule. This commission consisted of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton. They were accompanied by Mr. Carroll's brother, Father John Carroll, later the first Roman Catholic archbishop in the United States, much being expected from his influence with the Catholic population of Canada. Early in the spring the party left Philadelphia and proceeded to Albany, where the hospitality of General Schuyler's home was extended, the General making preparations for the remainder of the journey. A bateau carried the party through Lake George, and six yoke of oxen drew the boat over the portage to Lake Champlain, where two boats were provided, Ticonderoga being reached late in April. These bateaux were 36 feet long, 8 feet wide, with square ends and rigged with a mast for a blanket sail. An awning

was used as a substitute for a cabin. Each boat was manned by thirty or forty soldiers.

A stop was made at Crown Point, and another at the house of Peter Ferris, on the east side of the lake, in Panton, where the night of April 24, 1776, was spent. Leaving at 5 o'clock the next morning a severe gale was soon encountered, and it was necessary to stop in what is now the town of Essex, N. Y., at the home of one of William Gilliland's tenants. Proceeding on the journey, Montreal was reached on April 29.

Traveling in an open boat, and sleeping under an awning, or in a rude forest hut during April weather in this north country, was not an agreeable experience for Benjamin Franklin. He was then seventy years old and was not in robust health, although the most important part of his life work remained to be done. Father Carroll was not able to aid the American cause as he had hoped to do, and the commission was able to accomplish little, therefore the priest and Doctor Franklin left Montreal on May 11, and returned by way of Lake Champlain, reaching Ticonderoga early in June. The other commissioners returned later. The reverses of the American army and the lack of hard money were obstacles too serious to permit the accomplishment of any services of material importance by this, or any, special commission.

During the winter Arnold continued the siege of Quebec with only about 400 men fit for duty: Late in January, 1776, reinforcements arrived, recruiting the strength of the besieging force to 960 men, of whom less than 800 were fit for duty. In a short time smallpox broke out, adding greatly to the suffering already experienced.

General Thomas arrived May 1 and took command of the army before Quebec, which now numbered about

1,900 men, and this force soon was increased to 3,000 soldiers. At this late period Congress had seen the necessity of reinforcing the Canadian army. General Sullivan was given command of the new brigade, Stark and Wayne being among the officers. The smallpox proved a more dangerous enemy than the British soldiers. Of the 3,000 men before Quebec all but 900 at one time were rendered unfit for duty by the disease.

Finding the army in no condition for aggressive service, lacking provisions, and learning that heavy reinforcements of British troops were expected soon, General Thomas retreated in haste to the mouth of the Richelieu River, abandoning artillery, stores, baggage, and some of the sick. Here General Thomas was stricken with smallpox, and being removed to Chambly, died there on June 2.

The command now devolved upon General Sullivan. The British army, meanwhile, had been reinforced by the arrival of 13,000 men under General Burgoyne. Schuyler had found it a difficult matter to collect and forward by way of Lake Champlain provisions for 3,000 men. After Sullivan's arrival the army in Canada needed daily 12,000 pounds of pork and the same amount of flour. The pork was obtained but the average daily shipment of flour did not exceed 2,000 pounds.

A council of officers was called, which advised a retreat. On June 14, therefore, General Sullivan abandoned his position at Sorel, and set out for St. Johns. The next day Arnold, who had been in command at Montreal, left that city with his troops, marching across country to Chambly. Burgoyne followed the retreating Americans, but was ordered not to risk anything until he was reinforced. Determined to save their remaining artillery and stores, the Americans, many of them still weak and ill from the effects of smallpox, plunged into

the water, and by sheer strength of muscle drew more than one hundred heavily loaded bateaux over the rapids of the Richelieu, working often up to their waists in the water. Three vessels, three gondolas, and all the boats that could not be brought away, were burned. As the advance guard of the British army entered Chambly, the American rear guard marched out.

The retreating army under Sullivan reached St. Johns on June 17, about half of the troops being ill, and all of them ragged and hungry. Taking such things as could be transported, they applied the torch to the fort and barracks, and pushed on to Isle aux Noix, reaching that post on June 18. On this day Gen. Horatio Gates was appointed to command the forces in Canada, an empty honor indeed, and one which circumstances made it impossible to accept.

The soldiers who were fit for service remained at Isle aux Noix for eight days, until the sick could be transported out of Canada. Some of them were taken temporarily to Point au Fer and Isle La Motte, but most of them were transported directly to Crown Point. Bancroft says that "they made the voyage in leaky boats which had no awnings, with no food but raw pork and hard bread or unbaked flour."

When the boats that had taken the sick to Crown Point returned to Isle aux Noix, they were loaded with baggage, the troops marching to Point au Fer which had been fortified by order of General Sullivan. Here boats were awaiting the soldiers and they were taken to Crown Point, arriving there July 3, a little more than ten and one-half months from the time the gallant Montgomery with high hopes had set out for the north to conquer a province. Thus ingloriously ended the Canadian campaign.

A council of war decided that Crown Point could not be defended successfully, and the retreat was continued to Ticonderoga. Although the army was encamped at Crown Point only about ten days, they left behind as a grim reminder of their stay three hundred freshly-made graves. The condition of the army at this time was miserable indeed. John Adams described it as "disgraced, defeated, discontented, dispirited, undisciplined, eaten up with vermin, no clothes, beds, blankets, nor medicines, and no victuals but salt pork and flour."

On the retreat from Canada Sullivan had written Washington: "The raging of the smallpox deprives us of whole regiments in the course of a few days. Of the remaining regiments from fifty to sixty in each are taken down in a day." A return of soldiers absent from duty, taken two days before, was enclosed by Sullivan with the comment that in the forty-eight hours which had elapsed since the report was made, a quarter of those given as effective troops had been stricken with the prevailing disorder. Five men were fit for duty in Colonel Paterson's battalion, which had left New York, April 21, six hundred strong. When Schuyler sent this detachment to Washington's assistance in December only two hundred men were fit for duty. Another authority says of the army that retreated from Canada: "It was said that two regiments had not a single man in health; another had only six, and a fourth only forty; and two more were nearly in the same condition."

On July 29, 1776, Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, drew this picture of the army on Lake Champlain: "There are now 3,000 sick and about 3,000 well; this leaves near 5,000 to be accounted for; of these the enemy have cost perhaps 1,000—sickness another 1,000—which leaves near 3,000; in what manner they are disposed of

is unknown. Among those who remain there is neither order, subordination nor harmony; the officers as well as men of one colony insulting and quarrelling with those of another. * * * How they will maintain their naval supremacy, I must confess myself much at a loss. They build a gondola, perhaps one in a week; but where are they to find rigging for them—where the guns? To be sure they have a great train of artillery, but very few of them mounted on carriages; at present their materials and conveniences for making them are very slender. They have neither places fit for them to work in, nor materials in that plenty that they ought to have. To oppose the enemy on the lake they have a schooner of twelve carriage guns, a sloop of eight guns, two small schooners to carry four or six each, and three gondolas, and the large schooner is now in good sailing order and about to take a trip down the lake to make discovery. The sloop is a most unmanageable thing, it is impossible to beat up against a wind in her. The two small schooners are not armed—and even the carriages of their guns are yet to be made. * * * A reform is absolutely necessary; the soldiers are ragged, dirty, and many lousy; clothing greatly wanted—some destitute of sufficiency to make themselves comfortable and decent to appear."

The smallpox patients were sent to a hospital established at the head of Lake George. The fort at Skenesborough was repaired and made the headquarters for reinforcements.

General Schuyler had been given command of the Northern department, but Gates was assigned to the command of Ticonderoga. This displeased Sullivan, who left in disgust for New York and Philadelphia.

The Boston *Gazette* of August 29, 1776, printed an extract from a letter which said: "We hear from Ticon-

deroga that on the 28th of July, immediately after divine worship, the Declaration of Independence was read by Col. St. Clair, and having said 'God save the free independent States of America!' the army manifested their joy with three cheers: It was remarkably pleasing to see the spirit of the soldiers so raised after all their calamities, the language of every man's countenance was, 'Now we are a people! we have name among the states of this world.'" Probably this date should be July 18, when a carrier arrived with news of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. A salute of thirteen guns was fired and the neighboring eminence was christened Mount Independence.

A letter written from Mount Independence by Col. Samuel Wigglesworth, to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, as late as September 27, 1776, shows that conditions were still deplorable. In his letter he says: "Gentlemen, I wish you could transport yourselves to this place for a moment to see the distressed situation of these troops. * * * There are no medicines of any avail in the Continental chest; such as there are in their native state unprepared; no emetick nor cathartick; no mercurial nor antimonial Remedy; no opiate of elixir, tincture, nor even any capital medicine. It would make a heart of stone melt to hear the moans and see the distresses of the dying. * * * Now, Sirs, think how much more unhappy and distressed the condition of these troops would be should the enemy attack our Lines."

Rum containing four pounds of gentian root and two pounds of orange peel to a hogshead was served to the men, and when these ingredients were not available the physicians suggested as a substitute snakeroot, dogwood, and centaury.

In time, however, conditions improved. The smallpox gradually was conquered, and although there was some fever and ague, the health and spirits of the men showed a great change for the better. Fresh beef and mutton added a pleasant variety to a salt pork diet and the distress caused by lack of tents was alleviated, in a measure at least, by the arrival of 100,000 feet of board for purposes of shelter. However, the suffering of the army in Canada, and on the return to Lake Champlain, rank with the privations endured by Washington's troops at Valley Forge.

CHAPTER X

ARNOLD'S NAVAL BATTLE

DURING the summer and fall of 1776 the greater part of the army at Ticonderoga was engaged in throwing up intrenchments, mounting guns, and securing provisions. The autumn weather was bad, making work difficult. When it rained half a gill of rum was served to the men, and if the weather was very wet the ration was increased to a gill.

Hon. Robert O. Bascom says that private soldiers at the time received $6.67 a month, and in October, 1776, there was granted a bounty of $20 and a suit consisting of two linen hunting shirts, two pairs of stockings, two pairs of shoes, one pair of breeches, one waistcoat, two pairs of overalls, and one leather cap; in addition, a promise of one hundred acres of land at the close of the war was made. A colonel's pay was $75 a month. Mr. Bascom further states that the regulation equipment for a Continental soldier at this period was "a good firearm with a steel or iron ramrod with a spring to retain the same, a worm, priming iron and brush, a bayonet fitted to the gun, a scabbard and belt therefor, a cutting sword or tomahawk or hatchet, a pouch containing a cartridge box that will hold fifteen rounds of cartridges at least, a hundred buckshot, a jackknife and tow for wadding, six flints, one pound of powder, forty leaden bullets fitted to gun, a knapsack, blanket and canteen or wooden bottle sufficient to hold a quart."

Early in September the barracks and parade ground were finished. The intrenching tools were so few that it was necessary to divide the men into shifts that the tools

might not be idle at any time. The works were completed in November, 1776, under the direction of Colonel, later General Wayne. Among the troops were men from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and the New Hampshire Grants. The Massachusetts troops came by way of Springfield (Vt.), Rutland, Castleton, and Skenesborough.

The necessity of constructing a fleet if the mastery of the lake were to remain in the hands of the Americans was apparent to all. Gates selected Arnold to have charge of naval operations, and wrote Washington as follows concerning the choice: "As soon as all the vessels and gondolas are equipped, General Arnold has offered to go to Crown Point and take the command of them. This is exceedingly pleasing to me; as he has a perfect knowledge of maritime affairs, and is, besides, a most deserving and gallant officer."

On May 7, 1776, General Schuyler had ordered Jacobus Wynkoop, a captain in the Continental service, to proceed immediately to Ticonderoga and take command of "all the vessels on Lake Champlain"—not an imposing flotilla, by any means—and with the greatest expedition to put them in the best condition possible for immediate service. There is no evidence that any task of importance was performed by Captain Wynkoop, but he did mention in a memorial to Congress, that he expected the appointment of "Commodore of the Lakes." When Gates appointed Arnold to command the ships on the lake there was trouble at once. Wynkoop refused to take orders from Arnold, and maintained that he had received no notice of the appointment of a successor. After some sharp correspondence General Gates issued an order on August 18, directing that Wynkoop should be arrested

and taken to headquarters at Ticonderoga as a prisoner. Gates sent him on to Albany, where he contented himself in writing to Congress concerning his troubles.

Arnold brought to the task of preparing the best possible fighting squadron the same energetic qualities that he had displayed in the Quebec campaign. The New England seaports were called upon to furnish ship carpenters and naval stores. It was necessary to fell the trees in the woods and drag the timber to the shipyards at Skenesborough. Most of the stores and ammunition were brought overland, by roads that were nearly impassable. The vessels, when built, were brought to Ticonderoga and Crown Point to be equipped with sails, armament, and stores.

By the middle of August Arnold had assembled a fleet consisting of the sloop *Enterprise* under Captain Dixon; the schooner *Revenge,* Captain Laman; the schooner *Liberty,* Captain Primer; the schooner *Royal Savage,* Captain Wynkoop; and the gondolas *Boston, Spitfire, Philadelphia, Providence* and *New Haven.*

The British were as active at St. Johns as their opponents were at the southern end of the lake. During the summer of 1776 ship carpenters had been busy under the direction of Capt. Charles Douglas, in constructing a fleet with which it was expected the mastery of this important waterway might be regained. The planking and frames of two schooners were taken apart at Chambly and transported by land around the rapids of the Richelieu, to St. Johns, where they were reconstructed. Douglas found under construction at Quebec the hull of a ship of 180 tons. He took this apart nearly to the keel and shipped it to St. Johns on thirty long boats, which, with a gondola of thirty-two tons, several flat-bottomed boats, and 400 bateaux were drawn up the rapids.

With his hastily constructed fleet Arnold sailed north from Crown Point on August 20, cruising between that post and the mouth of the Boquet River until September 2. On the evening of that day he went as far as Schuyler Island, and on the next day proceeded to Windmill Point, where the fleet remained for several days.

On September 7 the vessels were anchored in a line guarding the channel opposite Isle La Motte, through which ships coming from St. Johns must pass. A boat containing eighteen men, and commanded by a sergeant, was sent ashore to cut fascines to fix on the bows and sides of the gondolas, in order to prevent the enemy from boarding. The men placed their guns against a rock, two men being posted as sentries, and proceeded with their task. Before they had fairly begun work an Indian was seen within half a stone's throw, who hailed the sergeant. Being asked to give an account of himself the Indian replied that he was a Caughnawaga. Suspecting trouble, the men ran for their boat and pushed off as quickly as possible, a band of savages following so closely that the Americans narrowly escaped being tomahawked. The boat was armed with a small cannon, loaded with shot, and this the sergeant attempted to discharge, but the Indians fired, cutting the lighted match out of his hand. The men on board fired in return and rowed back to the ships in great haste. The guns of the fleet were fired into the woods and the Indians fled. In this skirmish the American casualties were three men killed and five wounded.

The firing was heard at Crown Point, and Gates was notified. Supposing that a battle with the British fleet was in progress, Gates, in turn, notified Schuyler, at Albany, who ordered out a considerable number of the militia. This order was revoked as soon as the nature of

the affair was learned. On the morning of the skirmish Arnold was reinforced by the arrival of the galley *Lee,* carrying six guns, and the gondola *Connecticut,* with three guns.

On the night of September 7 the British began the erection of batteries on either side of Arnold's position, causing him to retire farther south, to a point a little to the north of Cumberland Head. As the schooner *Liberty* was proceeding to her anchorage she was hailed from the shore by a Canadian, who asked to be taken on board. The captain sent a boat toward the shore with orders to be ready to fire at any indication of treachery. The Canadian waded out about a rod, but refused to go farther. As the boat's crew declined to go so near to the land the man made a signal, when a party of 300 Canadians and Indians, concealed on the shore, fired, wounding three of the crew. The fire was returned, and the schooner discharged several broadsides of grape.

Having sounded the channel between Valcour Island and the New York shore, and found the anchorage to be a good one, the American fleet took position there on September 23. A few days later Arnold was reinforced by the arrival of the galley *Trumbull,* Captain Warner commanding. On October 6 General Waterbury, who had been appointed second in command, arrived with the galleys *Washington,* Captain Thacher, and *Congress,* Captain Arnold.

The *Liberty* had been sent to Crown Point for supplies and an eight-gun galley was receiving her armament at Ticonderoga. With these exceptions, the entire American fleet was assembled at Valcour. The crew consisted of about 500 men, mostly soldiers from the army. Arnold had hoped for New England seamen with which to man his ships, but they were not sent.

Sir Guy Carleton left St. Johns on October 4, with a fleet consisting of the *Inflexible,* an eighteen-gun ship, reconstructed in twenty-eight days, Lieutenant Schwenk commanding; the schooner *Maria,* Lieutenant Starke; the schooner *Dacres;* the flat-bottom radeau,*Thunderer,* Lieutenant Scott; and the gondola *Loyal Consort,* Lieutenant Longcroft. In addition there were twenty gunboats, each carrying a brass field piece, while four long boats, each armed with a carriage gun, served as tenders. Capt. A. T. Mahan says the British had forty-two available guns, while Arnold had a total of thirty-two cannon, of smaller calibre than the ordnance of the enemy.

The British ships were manned by about 700 picked seamen from craft on the St. Lawrence, in addition to a number of soldiers and artillerymen, while a party of Indians, in canoes, accompanied the fleet. To Capt. Thomas Pringle was given the command. Although Sir Guy Carleton accompanied the expedition, he did not attempt to direct naval operations. In numbers, both of ships and men, as well as in armament and equipment, the British fleet was much superior to the American squadron. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, English historian and statesman, says that "compared with Carleton's vessels, the American sloops and galleys were mere cockboats."

At Point au Fer, Pringle had stopped, and a blockhouse had been erected, four companies being left to garrison and defend it. On the night of October 10 the fleet anchored between Grand Isle and North Hero. The next morning the ships continued along the Grand Isle shore, having heard that the Americans were in that vicinity. No scout boats had been sent out, and Valcour Island being high, Arnold's position was not discovered until the island had been passed.

General Waterbury desired to go out and meet the enemy, but Arnold preferred to hold the position he had taken. It was 8 o'clock on Friday morning, October 11, when the British ships were sighted, but some time was consumed in tacking from the leeward, or rowing up to the channel where the little American fleet was stationed. The woods on Valcour Island and on the mainland were filled with Indians, who kept up a constant rifle fire, but their aim was so bad that little harm was done. To protect the decks from this fire Arnold had erected rude barricades of fagots.

Captain Pringle experienced no little difficulty in bringing his ships into action so that it was 11 o'clock before the British commander was able to open fire with his gunboats upon the *Royal Savage,* which, with the galleys, had advanced a little distance in front of the battle line formed by the rest of the squadron. The schooner *Carleton* was the first of the enemy's ships to come to the aid of the smaller craft. She was anchored with a spring on her cable. The American fire was centered on this ship. Her commander was knocked senseless, another officer lost an arm, and the command devolved upon Edward Pellew, then a boy nineteen years old. The *Carleton's* spring was shot away and she swung around, bow on, her fire being silenced. Pellew exposed himself recklessly and in a place of great peril succeeded in extricating his ship.

By poor management, early in the action, the crew of landsmen permitted the *Royal Savage,* Arnold's flagship, to fall to the leeward, where she sustained a heavy fire, her masts being damaged and her rigging shot away. Soon she was run aground on the point of Valcour Island, all on board escaping safely. That night she was boarded by the enemy and set on fire. All of Arnold's papers and

most of his personal effects were lost. The *Royal Savage* was the only vessel in Arnold's fleet really in a class with the British ships. The American commander transferred his flag to the *Congress* which has been described as "nothing more than a rowing galley with mast and sails."

At 12.30 o'clock the engagement became general and continued until 5 o'clock, round and grape shot being used in a very hot fire. The British ships, with the exception of the *Inflexible,* which did not get into action until late in the afternoon, and all of their gondolas, fought within musket range of the American craft. The *Washington* of Arnold's fleet, received several cannon balls through her hull, her mainmast was shot through and her sails were riddled. General Waterbury was the only active officer left on board at the close of the action, the first lieutenant having been killed and the captain and master wounded. The *Congress* was hulled twelve times, she received seven shot "between wind and water," her mainmast was damaged in two places, and her yard in one, and the rigging was shot to pieces. With his own hands Arnold pointed most of the guns on the flagship, and in the thick of the fight found time, by word and deed, to encourage the men on board. All the officers on the gondola *New York* were killed except Captain Lee. The *Philadelphia* was hulled in so many places that she sank about an hour after the battle closed. The American losses in killed and wounded amounted to sixty. Arnold had reason to congratulate himself that his fleet was not utterly annihilated.

The British fleet was considerably damaged. Eight men were killed and six were wounded on the *Carleton.* Two gunboats were sunk and one was blown up with a considerable number of men, the loss being estimated as low as twenty and as high as sixty men, although the

smaller number, probably, is much nearer the truth than the larger. A British artillery boat commanded by a German lieutenant was sunk.

It was in this battle that Edward Pellew, afterward Lord Exmouth, won his first laurels as a British naval officer.

As evening came on the British ships withdrew a little distance, in order to secure advantageous positions for the morrow, and anchored just beyond the range of Arnold's guns. The *Thunderer* held the right of the line near Garden Island, while the *Maria* held the left near the New York shore. Between were the *Loyal Consort* and the formidable ship *Inflexible*. The *Carleton* and the gunboats occupied positions between the other ships.

At the close of the battle Arnold called a council of war. His fleet was seriously crippled, most of his officers were killed or disabled, and three-fourths of his ammunition had been spent. To continue the fight another day meant annihilation or surrender. Arnold, therefore, determined to risk the attempt of a retreat, although the chances were heavily against success. The channel close to the west shore, however, had not been carefully guarded.

The darkness had fallen early on that October night, and with it came a mist that aided the American plans for retreat. At 7 o'clock Colonel Wigglesworth, with the *Trumbull* led the way, with no lights visible save a stern lantern, so masked that it could be seen only by the ship immediately in her wake. The *Enterprise,* the *Lee,* and the gondolas followed. At 10 o'clock General Waterbury, with the *Washington,* and General Arnold, with the *Congress,* brought up the rear. Silently and successfully the crippled American fleet slipped out of the net drawn around it by the enemy; and on Saturday

morning, to his surprise, the British commander found no ships to fight or capture. Sir Guy Carleton was in a rage, and the pursuit was begun in haste.

Arnold had proceeded nine miles up the lake, as far as Schuyler Island, not far from the present location of Port Kent. Here he was compelled to repair his shattered fleet; otherwise, as a result of his brilliant maneuver, he might have reached Crown Point in safety. Two gondolas or armed barges, were so badly damaged that it was necessary to sink them.

The British ships did not discover Arnold's position on the morning of October 12, and returned to Valcour Island, remaining there until night, when scouts reported that the American fleet had been sighted. Having stopped the worst leaks and made other necessary repairs, under adverse conditions, Arnold set sail for Crown Point on Saturday afternoon, October 12. A south wind was blowing and Arnold's ships when at their best never made good progress in beating against the wind. Although the oars were used, the crew, wounded and weary, made slow progress.

Tradition says that on the morning of October 13, in the mist of the early dawn an object was sighted near Providence Island which was supposed to be one of Arnold's ships, and one or more of the British vessels opened fire. It proved, however, to be a large rock, and thereafter, in derision, it was called Carleton's Prize.

The fog lifted on Sunday morning and about noon Arnold's fleet was overtaken a little to the south of the point where the Boquet River empties into the lake, and not far from Split Rock.

The *Washington*, badly damaged in the first battle, was limping along in the rear and was the first of the American vessels to be overtaken by the *Maria* and the *In-*

flexible. After a few broadsides she was compelled to strike her colors. Then for two hours and a half a running fight was waged, round and grape shot being hurled into Arnold's flagship the *Congress.* A spirited defense was made by the Americans as they endeavored to reach the protection of the guns at Crown Point. The *Inflexible* and two schooners paid special attention to the *Congress,* two under her stern and one on her broadside. That she remained afloat, and able to fight for several hours against such terrible odds is one of the wonders of American naval history. A first lieutenant and three men on the *Congress* were killed. Fighting desperately, with splendid skill and courage, Arnold almost reached his desired haven; but when ten miles north of Crown Point he saw that further resistance was impossible with his riddled sinking ships. Determined that he would not surrender he ran the *Congress* and four gondolas into the mouth of a creek, flowing into a bay on the Panton shore, on the east side of the lake, known thereafter as Arnold's Bay. The water was too shallow for the larger British craft to pursue. Here the small arms were removed and the ships were set on fire, their colors still flying, and were burned to the waters' edge. Arnold was the last man to leave the fleet. Staying on board until he was sure the flames would do their work he climbed along the bowsprit and dropped to the beach.

Leading his men through the forest, Arnold arrived at Crown Point at 4 o'clock on Monday morning, October 14, where he found the sloop *Enterprise,* the galley *Trumbull,* and one gondola, which had arrived there the day before. The galley *Lee* had been run ashore and blown up near Split Rock, on the west shore of the lake. The British had captured only the galley *Washington* and the gondola *Jersey,* although the Americans had lost one

schooner, two galleys, and seven gondolas, ten vessels out of a fleet of fifteen. The killed and wounded numbered between eighty and ninety, more than twenty of the casualties being on Arnold's flagship. The British loss, according to their own estimate, was forty, although their opponents placed the figures considerably higher.

General Carleton ordered his surgeons to treat the American wounded with great kindness. The prisoners were brought on board his flagship, where he praised their bravery, treated them to grog, and sent them to Ticonderoga in charge of Captain, afterwards Sir James Craig, on giving their parole that they would not bear arms against Great Britain again until they should be exchanged. The prisoners were so enthusiastic over Carleton's humane treatment that it was not considered wise to allow them to land and sound the praises of the British commander in the ears of the American troops; therefore they were hurried on to Skenesborough the same night.

On the same day that Arnold reached Crown Point the works at that place, by no means formidable, were destroyed, and troops and stores were removed to Ticonderoga. Carleton landed a force immediately, occupying both the east and west shores of the lake. He had planned to proceed at once against Ticonderoga, but on the next day, October 15, a strong south wind sprang up, and for eight days blew so hard that the British ships were windbound. These days were invaluable to the American cause.

General Gates, commanding the army at Ticonderoga, had assembled about 12,000 men. While Carleton was delayed at Crown Point, the troops surrounded the American works with a strong abatis, and made carriages for and mounted forty-seven cannon.

Carleton repaired the fortifications at Crown Point and anchored three of his largest ships near Putnam's Point, in the vicinity of which a body of light infantry, grenadiers, and some Canadians and Indians were encamped. The woods were filled with reconnoitering parties of British troops, some of them going as far south as Lake George.

Between 8 and 9 o'clock on Monday morning, October 27, the British fleet approached Ticonderoga.

Five large transports landed a detachment at Three Mile Point, and two armed boats approached the east shore. They were fired upon by a row galley, and retired. Another party of British troops was sent into a small bay about four miles below the works.

General Gates ordered the American defenses to be manned, and directed that three regiments from Mount Independence should reinforce the main garrison.

Having learned to his satisfaction that the Americans were capable of making a spirited defense at Ticonderoga, Carleton withdrew at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and returned to Crown Point, where he made preparations to retire to Canada for the winter. On November 3, the rear guard of the British army left the post and the same day it was reoccupied by the Americans.

When Gates learned that Carleton had departed, he dismissed the militia, and with most of the regular troops, departed for New Jersey to join Washington's army, Gen. Anthony Wayne being left in command.

Captain Douglas, under whose direction the British fleet had been constructed at St. Johns, sent a special message of the Lake Champlain victory to the British ambassador at Madrid, "presuming," he said, "that the early knowledge of this great event in the southern part of Europe may be of advantage to His Majesty's service."

As rewards for the British naval triumph, General Carleton was made a Knight of the Bath, and Captain Douglas, a baronet.

The battle of Lake Champlain was the first important naval engagement of the Revolution, and although it must be counted an American defeat, yet, like the defeat of the American army at Bunker Hill, it was more than half a victory. It is true that the British loss was not so great as in the famous Massachusetts engagement; but the masterly skill displayed by Arnold against overwhelming odds, the steadiness and courage shown by the rank and file, demonstrated alike to friend and foe that the Americans were at least the equal, man for man, of any fighting force in the world. Seldom has the personality of a commander so dominated an entire body of fighting men as did the gallant spirit of Benedict Arnold, which seemed to possess the officers and men of the little American fleet in the battle of Lake Champlain.

What this American defeat on Lake Champlain really won for the national cause is best told by Captain Mahan, whose supremacy as an authority in matters of naval history is beyond question. In an article on "The Naval Campaign of 1776 on Lake Champlain," published in *Scribner's Magazine* for February, 1898, he says: "That the Americans were strong enough to impose the capitulation of Saratoga was due to the invaluable year of delay, secured to them in 1776 by their little navy on Lake Champlain, created by the indomitable energy, and handled with the indomitable courage of the traitor, Benedict Arnold. That the war spread from America to Europe from the English Channel to the Baltic, from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, from the West Indies to the Mississippi, and ultimately involved the waters of the French Peninsula of Hindostan, is trace-

able through Saratoga, to the rude flotilla which in 1776 anticipated the enemy in the possession of Lake Champlain. * * * Considering its raw material and the recency of its organization, words can scarcely exaggerate the heroism of the resistance which undoubtedly depended chiefly upon the personal military qualities of the leader. * * * The little American navy on Lake Champlain was wiped out, but never had any force, big or small, lived to better purpose or died more gloriously; for it had saved the lake for that year. Whatever deductions may be made for blunders and for circumstances of every character, which made the British campaign in 1777 abortive and disastrous, and so led directly to the American alliance with France in 1778, the delay, with all that it involved, was obtained by the lake campaign of 1776."

Captain Mahan's testimony of the importance of the naval battle on Lake Champlain is corroborated by that of Sir George Otto Trevelyan, in his "American Revolution." The English historian says: "His [Arnold's] fellow countrymen repaid his frankness [in reporting his losses] with almost universal approbation and gratitude. He had lost them a squadron which, but for his personal exertions, would never have been built; and he had lost it to some purpose. * * * Carleton had unduly delayed his onward movement out of respect for the preparations which the Americans were making for his reception; and no English General after him would have consented to be hoodwinked unless it was clearly shown that those preparations, which had been so widely and ably advertised, were a reality and not a sham. Gunboats and galleys, in Arnold's view, were made to be expended just as much as cartridges; and any fate would be better for his ships than to skulk away in front of the British advance until they were hunted up against the shore at the head of

Lake George, and there trapped and taken like so many wild fowl in a decoy. For most assuredly, even at that late season of the year, Carleton would not have halted short of Albany, or New York itself, if the Americans, whether on lake or land, had made the ignominious confession that they were afraid of fighting. * * * It was something to know that a leader existed who was eager to hurl himself at the enemy, and fight an almost desperate battle as vigorously and obstinately as if victory were not a bare chance, but a cheerful probability. * * * Arnold's example aroused an outburst of enthusiasm and martial confidence throughout the States, and most of all among those of his countrymen who were nearest to the danger."

Fortunate would it have been for the fame of Benedict Arnold if a kind Providence had decreed that a British bullet should have pierced his heart as he stood on the Panton shore, watching the flames consume the American colors, which he had saved by desperate bravery from the humiliating fate of being lowered to a victorious foe. Then he might have been enshrined as one of the immortal heroes of our national history.

CHAPTER XI

BURGOYNE'S INVASION

GENERAL SCHUYLER, knowing that "the evil day" merely was postponed, and that another season would witness a formidable British invasion by way of Lake Champlain, was active in attempting to prepare for an attack. Again and again he called the attention of Washington and of Congress to the needs of the Northern department. He also labored to conciliate the Indians, and to keep informed regarding the movements of the enemy.

The garrison at Ticonderoga was not large, and some apprehension was felt lest a British expedition might take advantage of the frozen surface of the lake to make a winter attack upon the American works. Carleton, however, made no such attempt.

During this period there were "fightings within" as well as "fears without." On the night after Christmas, December 26, a Pennsylvania officer stationed at Ticonderoga, while partially intoxicated, assaulted a Massachusetts colonel, and this affair led to a riot, in which the Pennsylvanians taunted the "Yankees," and fired upon the Massachusetts men, wounding several. The matter was not made the subject of a court martial and a reconciliation was effected by means of a dinner, a time-honored expedient. The Pennsylvania officer sent his men into the woods on a hunting expedition, where they killed a fat bear. Bruin formed the *piece de resistance* of a banquet to which the insulted Massachusetts colonel and his officers were invited; the invitation was accepted, the bear was eaten, and harmony once more reigned in the American camp.

Wayne wrote to Schuyler on February 13, 1777, that a scouting party had secured information showing that there were 500 British troops at St. Johns; 300 at Isle aux Noix, with a battery of twelve guns; and twenty at Point au Fer. At le Gran Isle (Grand Isle) they found 100 Indians and a few regulars, part of the force being posted on the west shore of the lake. On April 13 Wayne wrote from Ticonderoga that three days before a strong party of the enemy was discovered at the group of islands in the lake known as the Four Brothers.

Gates and Schuyler did not get on well together, and there was a question as to whom the command in the Champlain valley belonged. This was settled in Congress on May 22, when Schuyler was elected commander of Albany, Ticonderoga, and Fort Stanwix, and their dependencies, by a majority of one State. When Gates received the news he started for Philadelphia to pull the wires for reinstatement.

To Gen. Arthur St. Clair, called the best of the brigadiers in the North, was assigned the active command of Ticonderoga. With the coming of summer, and the expectation that the British would attack the fort, great exertions were made to strengthen the works, which had been laid out by Thaddeus Kosciusko, the Polish patriot. On the summit of Mount Independence, directly opposite Ticonderoga, which was a table land, a strong star-shaped fort was erected, being well supplied with artillery. In the center was a square of barracks, a part of which was occupied as a hospital.

To connect the two fortifications a floating bridge, 400 yards long, was constructed, supported by twenty-two sunken piers made of large timbers. The spaces between these piers were filled with separate floats, each about fifty feet long and twelve feet wide, strongly

fastened together with iron chains and rivets. On the north side of the bridge was a boom constructed of large timbers riveted together; and by the side of this boom a double iron chain, the links of which were an inch and a half square. This barrier was supposed to make the passage of a British fleet impossible, and was erected at great expense.

At the foot of Mount Independence, toward the lake, a breastwork had been thrown up, and this was strengthened by an abatis and a strong battery near the mouth of East Creek. The old French lines west of the fort had been occupied and were guarded by a blockhouse. Half a mile in front of the French lines a small fort on Mount Hope protected the extreme left, while redoubts and batteries were placed in the low lands below the fort. An outpost was established at the old sawmills, one on the rapids at the outlet of Lake George, and another just above that place. At the northern end of Lake George a hospital and blockhouse were erected.

Mount Defiance, 750 feet high, which commanded the outlet of Lake George and the entire works, was left unfortified, as it was supposed that it would not be possible to occupy that eminence.

The defenses had been planned on a large scale, extending for more than two miles and a half in the form of a crescent, and needed at least 10,000 men to defend them. To man these works St. Clair had about 2,800 regulars and 900 raw and undisciplined militia, poorly armed and equipped, eight out of every nine men being without a bayonet. It was expected that an assault would be made upon the works, and among the weapons of defense provided were poles about twelve feet long with sharp iron points, designed to be used in repelling an attacking force.

Congress authorized Washington to call upon the Eastern States to raise and forward regiments for the defense of Ticonderoga. Following these instructions he wrote the president of the New Hampshire State Council on May 3: "You must be fully sensible of the vast importance of what is depending and the almost irreparable consequences that would result, should any misfortune happen to the post now threatened, as the loss of it would open an avenue for easy progress into the Eastern States; to prevent which it might probably be some time before an adequate force could be opposed. The pressing emergency of the occasion calls loudly for every effort in your power."

Colonel Warner was sent out to secure reinforcements and in a letter written on this subject he said: "I should be glad if a few hills of corn unhoed should not be a motive sufficient to detain men at home considering that the loss of such an important post can hardly be remedied."

Gen. John Burgoyne was chosen in March, 1777, to command the Northern British army. He was an officer of considerable experience, who had won laurels in Portugal, a polished gentleman, a writer of plays, and a member of Parliament; but he did not understand the situation in America with anything like the thoroughness of Sir Guy Carleton's comprehension of the subject, and his appointment generally was considered a slight upon the governor of Canada. Nevertheless, Carleton cooperated in every way possible to make the expedition by way of Lake Champlain a success. He kept the British squadron in repair, trained the regulars in maneuvers suitable for forest warfare, and reserved only a small garrison to guard the Canadian posts.

The regular troops numbered rather more than 4,000 men, and all were seasoned veterans. Gen. Simon Fraser, one of the three brigade commanders, had served under Wolfe at Louisbourg and Quebec. Of General Phillips, who had won fame in the German wars, it is said: "It may well be doubted whether a better artillery officer, in quarters or on the field, ever held a commission." Lord Balcarras was a colonel of light infantry, and although only thirty-five years old, had been in the service for twenty years.

The grenadiers were under Maj. John Dyke Acland, "heir apparent to the greatest family of English landowners, who have consented to remain commoners." He was a member of Parliament, and a cousin of Charles James Fox by marriage. The light infantry and grenadiers were said to be such a body of men as "could not be raised in a twelvemonth, search England through." The Indians, of whom there were about 500, having been allured to the British camp by the prospect of unlimited quantities of rum and the possibility of getting scalps, were commanded by La Corne St. Luc, whose name was a terror to the colonies, and a synonym of savage barbarity. There were also a few Canadian militia.

Part of Burgoyne's force consisted of more than 3,000 German troops, not all of them, properly speaking, Hessians, as they have been called, many being Brunswickers. They had been secured by conscription from the Landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Brunswick, and came to England poorly clothed and shod. They sailed for America without overcoats and suffered much from the rigors of a Canadian winter, and from homesickness. Fredrich Adolph von Riedesel, counted a good soldier, was the principal German officer.

Justin Winsor says the army was made up of 4,135 British soldiers, 3,116 Germans, 148 Canadians and 503 Indians, a total of 7,902. Winsor also declares that this force was "probably the finest and most excellently supplied as to officers and private men that had ever been allotted to second the operations of any army." The equipment included a complete train of brass artillery of forty-two pieces.

Burgoyne reached Quebec in May, 1777, having visited England the previous winter, and early in June the British army left St. Johns. The plan of campaign was to cut the colonies in twain by isolating New England and the Hudson valley from the remainder of the country. Burgoyne was to proceed to Albany by way of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River, while General Howe was to come up the Hudson valley to meet him.

As the fleet left St. Johns, under command of Captain Lutwidge, the royal standard was raised on the flagship and was saluted by all the shipping and forts. Head winds caused some delay, bad weather and bad roads also delaying land transportation, and at Cumberland Head a halt was made for the arrival of stores and ammunition. Seven hundred carts were brought for moving baggage and supplies at the portage between the lakes and the Hudson River, and 1,500 horses were sent by land on the west side of the lake under a strong escort.

When the supplies were received the army advanced to the mouth of the Boquet River. The war fleet made a brave spectacle, with music and banners, as it advanced southward, with the beautiful setting of midsummer on Lake Champlain. The scene recalls Abercrombie's advance down Lake George, about a decade earlier.

Capt. Thomas Aubrey, a young British officer, an eye-witness, gave this description of the scene: "When in

the widest part of the lake it was remarkably fine and clear, not a breeze stirring, when the whole army appeared at one view in such perfect regularity as to form the most complete and splendid regatta ever beheld. In the front the Indians went in their birch canoes containing twenty or thirty in each; then the advanced corps in a regular line with the gunboats; then followed the *Royal George* and *Inflexible,* towing large booms which are to be thrown across two points of land, with the other brigs and sloops, following; after them the brigades in their order."

At the mouth of the Boquet, on June 21, Burgoyne halted to give a great war feast, being joined by 400 Iroquois, Algonquins, Abenakis, and Ottawas. In his speech on this occasion the British commander poured contempt upon the rebels, and added: "Warriors, you are free—go forth in the might of your valor and your cause —strike at the common enemies of Great Britain and America, disturbers of public order, peace and happiness, destroyers of commerce, parricides of the state. * * * Be it our task from the dictates of our religion, the laws of our warfare, and the principles and interest of our policy, to regulate your passions when they overbear, to point out when it is nobler to spare than to revenge, to discriminate degrees of guilt, to suspend the uplifted stroke, to chastise and not to destroy." He laid down these rules for his savage allies: "I positively forbid bloodshed when you are not opposed in arms. Aged men, women, children and prisoners must be held sacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the time of actual conflict. You shall receive compensation for the prisoners you take; but you shall be called to account for scalps.

"In conformity and indulgence to your customs, which have affixed an idea of honor to such badges of victory,

you shall be allowed to take the scalps of the dead when killed by your fire, and in fair opposition; but on no account or pretence, or subtlety or prevarication are they to be taken from the wounded, or even dying; and still less pardonable, if possible, will it be held, to kill men in that condition on purpose, and upon a supposition that this protection to the wounded would be therby evaded.

"Base lurking assassins, incendiaries, ravagers and plunderers of the country, to whatever army they may belong, shall be treated with less reserve; but the latitude must be given you by order, and I must be the judge of the occasion.

"Should the enemy on their part dare to countenance acts of barbarity towards those who may fall into their hands, it shall be yours also to retaliate."

In Parliament, Fox, Burke, and Chatham, in the most vigorous terms, condemned the employment of the Indians. In the House of Commons, Burke held up to ridicule Burgoyne's speech to his savage allies, saying: "Suppose there was a riot on Tower Hill. What would the keeper of His Majesty's lions do? Would he not fling open the dens of the wild beasts, and address them thus: 'My gentle lions—my humane bears—my tender-hearted hyenas, go forth! But I exhort you, as you are Christians, and members of civil society, to take care not to hurt any man, woman or child."

The British army reached Crown Point on June 27, where magazines and a hospital were established.

On July 4 Burgoyne issued a bombastic proclamation, intended to strike terror to the hearts of the people of the Champlain valley. It began as follows: "By John Burgoyne, Esq., Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's armies in America, Colonel of the Queen's regiment of light dragoons, Governor of Fort William in North

Britain, one of the Representatives of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament and commanding an army and fleet employed on an expedition from Canada, etc., etc., etc.

After setting forth the monstrous wickedness of the rebels, he says: "Determined to strike where necessary, and anxious to spare where possible, I by these presents invite and exhort all persons, in all places where the progress of this army may point, and by the blessing of God I will extend it far, to maintain such conduct as may justify me in protecting their lands, habitations and families. * * * The domestic, the industrious, the infirm and even the timid inhabitants, I am desirous to protect, provided they remain quietly at their houses; that they do not suffer their cattle to be removed, nor their corn or forage to be secreted or destroyed; that they do not break up their bridges or roads; nor by any other act, directly or indirectly, endeavor to obstruct the operations of the King's troops, or supply or assist those of the enemy. Every species of provision brought to my camp will be paid for at an equitable rate, and in solid coin."

After holding out the promise of protection, and the temptation of hard money for provisions, the threat of Indian horrors is paraded, in order to frighten the inhabitants into submission, in these words: "In consciousness of Christianity, my royal master's clemency, and the honor of soldiership, I have dwelt upon this invitation, and wished for more persuasive terms to give it impression: And let not people be led to disregard it, by considering their distance from the immediate situation of my camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction and they amount to thousands, to overtake the hardened enemies of Great

Britain and America; I consider them the same wherever they may lurk.

"If, notwithstanding these endeavors and sincere inclinations to effect them, the phrenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and men, in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the state against the wilful outcasts. The messengers of justice and of wrath await them in the field; and devastation, famine and every concomitant horror that a reluctant but indispensible prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return."

Some of the settlers, perhaps more than the popular impression generally has classed among the faint hearted, accepted Burgoyne's protection; but the majority remained steadfast to the cause of American liberty, and in hundreds of instances left all they possessed rather than be false to the interests of the new nation.

On June 30 Burgoyne issued orders declaring that "this army must not retreat." The next day, July 1, the royal forces advanced in three divisions. The right wing, under General Phillips, proceeded along the west shore toward Fort Ticonderoga; the left wing, consisting of German recruits, followed the east shore, toward Mount Independence; the center and naval force, under Burgoyne's personal command, kept station in the middle of the lake; the frigates and gunboats anchoring just out of range of the American artillery. A party of Indians followed by a considerable force under General Fraser, approached the Lake George outposts July 2, whereupon the Americans retired, abandoning the sawmills and burning the blockhouse. On July 3, General Fraser, without opposition, took possession of Mount Hope, which commanded part of the American lines, and permitted the enemy to cut St. Clair's communications toward Lake

George. It was impossible for such a slender garrison to defend such an extensive system of fortifications.

Burgoyne was not in haste to follow Abercrombie's example, and make a general assault upon the works. He preferred, therefore, to invest the fortress, bringing up his artillery, stores, and provisions, and drawing his lines closer to Mount Independence.

St. Clair tried his best to cheer his troops. The American guns kept up a hot fire on Reidesel's force and upon Mount Hope, but without results. Ticonderoga was now invested on three sides, north, east, and west.

The high eminence, then known as Sugar Hill, which commanded the entire American works, was examined by Lieutenant Twiss, the British engineer, who declared that it was possible to place artillery upon the summit.

Following this report work was pushed with great vigor night and day. A road was cut up the mountain side, and eight guns—24-pounders and 8-inch howitzers, were dragged up by the aid of oxen. The height was rechristened Mount Defiance by Twiss.

On the morning of July 5 great was the astonishment of the Americans to see the summit of Sugar Hill red with British soldiers. St. Clair harbored no delusions regarding the occupation of that lofty eminence. He knew that the fate of his army was sealed if he remained at Ticonderoga. A council of war was hastily called, and it was conceded by the officers assembled that within a few hours a plunging fire from Mount Defiance would make every part of the works untenable. It was decided therefore, to retreat before Reidesel should cut off the narrow passage south of East Creek, which was the only line of retreat left open by land. This decision, however, was kept from the troops until evening.

The water route to Skenesborough was still open, and supposed to be safe, owing to the boom and great chain across the lake, which obstructed navigation. About midnight orders were issued to place the sick, the wounded, and the women on board two hundred log boats. Cannon, provisions, and tents were placed in other boats, and about 3 o'clock on the morning of July 6, convoyed by five armed galleys, all that was left of Arnold's fleet, and accompanied by a guard of 600 men commanded by Colonel Long, of New Hampshire, the flotilla started for Skenesborough. The moon shone brightly as the boats left Ticonderoga, and later the sun rose upon a beautiful day. Little apprehension was felt, as pursuit was supposed to be practically impossible. Although the army was retreating, the progress of this portion of the forces was not a doleful one, the music of drums and fife enlivening the occasion. Dr. James Thacher, a surgeon, who was on board one of the ships, in his journal describes this voyage, saying: "Among the hospital stores, we found many dozen of choice wine, and breaking off their necks we cheered our hearts with the nectareous contents."

Skenesborough was reached at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and in less than two hours the Americans were startled by the sound of British guns firing upon the galleys at the wharf. The bridge, boom, and chain, erected at such great expense of time and money, had delayed the enemy only a few hours. The *Royal George,* the *Inflexible,* and a number of gunboats under Captain Carter, had pursued in haste, and had almost overtaken the American fleet. Three regiments were disembarked at the head of South Bay to occupy the road to Fort Edward.

The American officers attempted to rally their men, but this was found impossible. More than "the nectareous contents" of the hospital stores was needed now to cheer the hearts of the soldiers. A panic prevailed and at the first the troops fled in all directions, each man seeking his own personal safety.

Two war galleys surrendered and the other three were blown up by their own crews. The long boats and other craft were either sunk, burned or captured. Before retiring, the defeated forces set fire to the storehouse, sawmills, forges, and repairing sheds. The dry trees caught fire, and the whole hillside was soon ablaze. General Schuyler was informed later that "not one earthly thing was saved."

The Americans retired in confusion through a narrow defile in the woods to Fort Ann. So closely were they pursued that the cry frequently would go up from the rear: "March on, the Indians are at our heels." Many of the invalids were taken up Wood Creek in boats, and some of the baggage was saved in this way; but all of the cannon and provisions, most of the baggage, and some of the sick fell into the hands of the victors.

A small force, sent out by Schuyler from Fort Edward, reached Fort Ann on July 7. A British detachment approaching the same day was attacked by the Americans and defeated, a surgeon, a captain who was wounded, and twelve privates being taken prisoners. The next day Fort Ann was burned, and the garrison retired to General Schuyler's camp at Fort Edward.

At the same hour that the flotilla had left Ticonderoga, 3 o'clock on the morning of July 6, the main body of the army began to cross the bridge to Mount Independence, retreating toward Hubbardton (Vt.). At 4 o'clock the rear guard under Colonel Francis left the works on the

eastern shore. All this time, in order to allay suspicion, one of the batteries had continued to fire on Mount Hope. Either by accident, or foolishly, by design, General de Fermoy set fire to his house, and the retreat was discovered by the enemy. Generals Fraser and Reidesel were ordered to pursue the Americans, who were retreating in confusion; but before starting Fraser ordered his pickets into the fort, and took possession of the long coveted post, taken more than two years before by Ethan Allen, who was now languishing in prison, and the British flag again floated over Ticonderoga. Then he hastened after St. Clair with 850 men, making a forced march, part of it in the hot sun of a July day.

The Americans had pushed on to Hubbardton, where they halted for two hours, permitting many stragglers to come up; then the main body of the army continued to Castleton. A rear guard of 700 men was left at Hubbardton under Col. Seth Warner.

When night fell, Fraser was near Hubbardton, but his men were exhausted, and throwing themselves on the ground they slept on their arms. At 5 o'clock the next morning Fraser's scouts surprised Warner's pickets as the latter were cooking their breakfast. One regiment retreated, but Warner and Francis rallied the others, and they fought in Indian fashion, from behind trees and thickets.

For three hours the contest continued, victory hanging in the balance. One side would advance, only to be driven back presently by their opponents. About 8 o'clock Reidesel arrived with a detachment of his slow moving Germans, and thus turned the scale in favor of the British arms. Reidesel had dashed on in advance of his troops, cursing and raging at their delay. Although his advance detachment was not large, they made a great

noise, singing battle hymns, shouting and firing, and creating the impression that a large force was approaching. Fraser ordered a bayonet charge and the Americans fled.

Colonel Francis was killed at the head of his regiment. Colonel Hale, who had charge of a body of invalids, was overtaken on the road to Castleton and surrendered. Colonel Warner advised his men to take to the woods and meet him at Manchester, where 150 men assembled a few days later. St. Clair, by a circuitous route, through Rutland, Manchester, and Bennington, joined Schuyler July 12.

The Americans lost 324 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The British casualties numbered 183, Major Grant being killed, Major Acland severely wounded, and the Earl of Balcarras slightly wounded.

The Vermont convention, called to make and adopt a constitution, was in session at Windsor when news came of the loss of Ticonderoga and the pursuit of St. Clair. The families of many of the members of the convention were known to be in peril, with a British force on Vermont soil, and a hasty adjournment seemed likely; but a severe thunder storm came up at that moment, and the reading of the constitution, paragraph by paragraph, was continued until it was completed.

Burgoyne, in a short campaign, had captured the posts of Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and Skenesborough, won the control of Lake Champlain and Lake George, and taken 180 cannon, much ammunition, all the American reserve tents, 349,760 pounds of flour, 143,830 pounds of salt meat, many cattle, and the American standard. It appeared to be a notable triumph, and Burgoyne wrote glowing accounts of his victory to England, sending his aide-de-camp, Captain Garner, as a special messenger to

bear the news to court. He ordered special religious exercises to be held at the head of the line the following Sunday, and that a *feu de joie* be fired at sunset the same day at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Skenesborough, and Castleton.

The British ministerial party considered that the war was over. The betting odds in London shifted from even money on the recognition of American independence to odds of 5 to 1 against it. The loyalist exiles in England were overjoyed. Some immediately engaged passage for New York. Others chartered an army transport and made arrangements for the shipment of a cargo of merchandise to sell in America when the war was ended, an event not far distant, it was supposed.

When the King heard the news of the British victory on Lake Champlain, he rushed into the Queen's apartments in great delight, exclaiming that he had beaten all the Americans. Lord George Germaine was directed to promise Burgoyne the title of Knight Commander of the Bath, with a lively hope of something more substantial, but these honors were declined with thanks by Lord Derby, a relative of the American commander, and his representative in England.

If there was joy in Great Britain over the fall of Ticonderoga, there was corresponding consternation in America over what was considered an almost irremediable disaster. "The popular imagination had invested it with the impregnability of an enchanted castle," says John Austin Stevens. "It was the bursting of a meteor, which by its awful peal shook every habitation from Maine to Georgia," says President Timothy Dwight, of Yale College. Washington, Hamilton, and other leaders were highly displeased that St. Clair should have been so easily maneuvered out of his position. To such an ex-

tent did popular criticism go that the ridiculous charge was made, and believed by some, that Generals Schuyler and St. Clair were traitors, and were paid for their treason by silver bullets fired into the American camp by Burgoyne's soldiers.

St. Clair defended himself by saying that "we have lost a post, but saved a province." Schuyler was blamed by Congress for neglect of duty in failing to order a timely retreat if the post could not be defended successfully. He was tried by court martial but was acquitted by a unanimous vote, and "with the highest honor." St. Clair was also tried and acquitted.

On July 8, Col. Moses Robinson, Lieut. Col. Nathaniel Brush, Capt. Elijah Dewey, Deputy Commissary Joseph Farnsworth, and John Fay, addressed an appeal to the militia officers and committees of safety in Massachusetts and Connecticut saying: "The British Army is advancing into the country killing, robbing the inhabitants, driving off their cattle to their own use; our whole army is in a very broken situation, * * * unless the enemy be soon stop'd & repuls'd the whole Country will fall into their hands, which will prove the ruin of the whole as we have large stores deposited in this place [Bennington] which we shall of necessity be obliged to leave to the enemy & retreat down into the New England States, which will soon reduce the country to Cleanness of Teeth." An appeal for troops followed.

Ira Allen, writing July 15 from Manchester to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, said: "By the surrender of the fortress of Ticonderoga a communication is opened to the defenseless inhabitants of the frontiers, who, having little more in present store than sufficient for the maintenance of their respective Families, and not ability immediately to remove their effects, are

therefore induced to accept such Protections as are offered them by the enemy." In this letter Allen pointed out how this yielding on the part of some to British authority restricted the frontier, and urged that unless help came soon Vermont could not maintain a frontier, a task which, with a little aid, it was as well able to do as New Hampshire herself.

Col. Seth Warner wrote from Manchester, on July 18, to the New Hampshire Council of State and field officers: "There is an Army or Body of the Enemy to the amount of three thousand at Castleton, many of the People have fled and left all in the Enemy's hands and are continually on the move, and unless we can have help to make a stand against the Enemy I know not where the End will be. Some have took Protection from them already." Aid was forthcoming, however. Nothing was better calculated to arouse the people of New England than the threat of an Indian invasion. Their own villages and firesides were endangered, and the militia rallied in large numbers to check the British advance.

From Skenesborough General Burgoyne issued a proclamation "to the inhabitants of Castleton, Hubbardton, Rutland, Tinmouth, Pawlet, Wells, Granville (N. Y.) with the neighboring districts; also the districts bordering on White Creek, Cramdens, Cambridge, etc." They were directed to send deputations of ten persons or more from each township to meet Colonel Skene at Castleton, Vt. on Wednesday morning, July 15, at ten o'clock, when conditions would be communicated "upon which the persons and properties of the disobedient may yet be spared"—so ran the proclamation, which closed with the injunction: "This fail not to obey under pain of military execution."

General Schuyler responded with a vigorous counter-proclamation, ordering that all persons who had taken or might take protection from Burgoyne be arrested and placed in jail. He further directed that all who should aid or correspond with the British should be counted as traitors and dealt with as such.

Burgoyne failed dismally, however, in securing any considerable aid or allegiance from the people of the Champlain Valley.

After the Battle of Hubbardton, Riedesel was stationed at Castleton, thus giving the impression that New England might be invaded. This act created the greatest alarm, and almost every town within possible striking distance anticipated an attack.

Burgoyne determined to march to Fort Edward by way of Fort Ann, instead of returning to Ticonderoga and proceeding to the Hudson River by way of Lake George, a route which would have saved many miles of difficult travel. Most of his artillery and stores were sent forward by the Lake George route, but he declined to change his course, being an exceedingly proud man, although giving as his reason that to retrace his steps would discourage his soldiers. It has been intimated that Colonel Skene was responsible in a measure for the route taken, as the building of a military road through his extensive property would have been very beneficial had the British ultimately won.

General Schuyler never appeared to better advantage than in delaying Burgoyne's advance. He was confident of ultimate success and on July 14 wrote: "We shall still have a merry Christmas."

The navigation of Wood Creek, a stream emptying into Lake Champlain at Skenesborough, was obstructed with huge stones and logs. Trees were felled into the

creek, where, with branches interlocked, they formed obstacles very difficult to remove. All the bridges were burned and axemen were sent up each of the roads from Fort George to Fort Edward, with orders to make passage for an army as difficult as possible. Farms along the route were deserted and the cattle driven off, that they might not furnish sustenance for the enemy.

Through this wilderness and morass Burgoyne forced his army, but it took twenty-four days to cover the twenty-six miles between Lake Champlain and Fort Edward, so well had Schuyler's men done their work. The British found it necessary to build forty bridges, one across a swamp two miles long. With great labor Wood Creek was cleared to permit the passage of bateaux. When Fort Edward was reached at last, on July 30, Burgoyne's soldiers were exhausted by their arduous labors—work to which they were not accustomed—performed with the fierce heat of midsummer pouring down into the forest, and clouds of insects swarming about them. There was none of the poetry of warfare in such a campaign.

Here the British army remained until Aug. 15, awaiting provisions, ammunition, and supplies for the proposed expedition down the Hudson. Practically all the food for the troops must be transported from Quebec, much of it coming from across the Atlantic. The army had been somewhat depleted by the necessity of leaving garrisons at the various posts conquered, as General Carleton maintained that he had no right to send his soldiers out of Canada to hold the forts taken.

Gen. Benjamin Lincoln had been stationed at Manchester with a body of Massachusetts militia to make a diversion in Burgoyne's rear. About the middle of September Colonel Warner and Colonel Johnson were ordered

to threaten Mount Independence; Colonel Brown, with Herrick's Rangers, and some volunteers and militia, was directed to advance upon the Lake George posts and Ticonderoga; while Colonel Woodbridge was sent against Fort Ann and Skenesborough. Capt. Ebenezer Allen, with his Rangers, was directed to leave Brown and Herrick at a designated point and proceed against Mount Defiance.

During the night Brown climbed the mountains that lay between him and the head of Lake George. Sentinels were posted with orders to give as a signal "three hoots of an owl," to guide the soldiers in the darkness. Up the steep slopes of Mount Defiance swarmed Captain Allen's men, only to find near the summit a cliff that they could not ascend. This difficulty was overcome when Allen told one of his soldiers to stoop, and leaping on his back climbed to the top of the cliff, the others following. The Americans were soon discovered, but Allen's men followed him, as he said, "like a stream of hornets." The garrison departed in haste with the exception of one gunner, who attempted to discharge a cannon. Allen fired at him, shouting, "Kill the gunner," and the man fled, match in hand. The British troops ran down the slope, only to be captured at the foot of the mountain by Major Wait. Lieutenant Lord, who held the blockhouse, offered considerable resistance, and did not surrender until several guns taken from a sloop had been brought to bear on the position.

Colonel Brown captured Mount Hope and a blockhouse near the old French lines. Several gunboats, an armed sloop, 200 long boats, and 293 men were captured, and 100 American prisoners taken in the Battle of Hubbardton were released. One of the gratifying features

of the expedition was the recovery of the American standard abandoned by St. Clair.

Colonel Warner was slow in his advance, and did not reach Mount Independence until the morning of the day following the events just mentioned. When the forces were united a summons to surrender was sent to General Powel, British commandant at Ticonderoga, but he refused to obey. For four days the works were cannonaded, but no apparent impression being made the Americans withdrew to the lower end of Lake George. Here, on July 24, an attack was made on Diamond Island, where Captain Aubrey and two companies of the Forty-seventh Regiment guarded a large quantity of public property. The attack was unsuccessful, and Brown and Warner having sustained a small loss retreated to the east side of the lake, burned their boats, and recrossing the mountains returned to Lincoln's headquarters, then located at Pawlet.

Meanwhile the problem of feeding his troops, and the loyalists who flocked to his camp, was becoming a serious one for Burgoyne. To bring supplies for an army across the Atlantic Ocean from England, up the St. Lawrence, up the Richelieu, through Lakes Champlain and George, and over difficult forest roads, a distance of 3,600 miles, was the task that faced the British commander. In desperate need of provisions he determined to attempt the capture of the American stores at Bennington. A description of the battle that followed does not come within the scope of this book, but it resulted disastrously for the British arms. Not only did Burgoyne fail in his quest for supplies, but the Americans killed or disabled a considerable number of his soldiers, and he lost prestige, thereby encouraging the people in the country roundabout to flock to the American

standard in ever increasing numbers. To add to his troubles his Indian allies became unmanageable.

The plans laid by Lord George Germaine, secretary of state for the colonies, provided that Burgoyne should advance as far as Albany. Orders were written directing Gen. William Howe, a brother of Lord Howe, killed near Lake George in the French and Indian War, and of Admiral Lord Howe who succeeded to the title, to go up the Hudson from New York and join Burgoyne at that place. After they were written his lordship went to Kent on a visit, and upon his return he forgot to sign the orders, which were pigeon-holed until May 18, 1777. They did not reach Howe until August 16, when he had left on an expedition to Chesapeake Bay, and it was then too late to attempt a junction of forces at Albany.

Schuyler was superseded as commander of the Northern American army, by Gates and General Lincoln was called to his aid. Burgoyne was soon hemmed in, his communications were cut, and his army was in imminent danger of starvation. His last dispatches were sent from Fort Edward during the first week in September.

Reidesel and Fraser favored a retreat toward Lake George and Ticonderoga, but it was too late to retreat. The army that had advanced up Lake Champlain so proudly in the early summer, with music and banners, was now compelled to fight for its life, was defeated in a series of battles, and was obliged to surrender on October 17.

George the Third had erred in his jubilant remark to his Queen regarding the victory on Lake Champlain. He had not "beaten all the Americans" when Ticonderoga was taken.

With Burgoyne's downfall, the British troops stationed on Lakes George and Champlain, with the exception of one or two small posts near the northern border, hastily

retreated to Canada. Near the mouth of the Boquet River the rear guard was overtaken and attacked by Capt. Ebenezer Allen, who captured forty-nine men, a large amount of baggage and military stores, about 100 horses, and some cattle. Among Allen's prisoners was Dinah Mattis, a negro slave, and her infant child. Allen gave her a written certificate of emancipation, which was recorded in the town clerk's office at Bennington, in which the Green Mountain captain set forth that he was "conscientious that it is not right in the sight of God to keep slaves." This was the first recorded emancipation document in Vermont, preceding the adoption of the constitution which prohibited slavery in the State.

Major Wait took possession of Mount Independence but found that the British had sunk their boats, spiked or broken their cannon, and burned barracks, houses, and bridges. The Americans did not attempt to reoccupy Ticonderoga, and the British continued to control the lake.

It is difficult at the present time to imagine the effect of the American reverses suffered in Canada, and of Burgoyne's invasion, upon the scattered settlements in the valley of Lake Champlain. The possession of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and the mastery of the lake, meant at least comparative safety to these isolated farms and little hamlets. With this protection suddenly removed, all seemed lost.

As Burgoyne came sweeping up the lake, demanding allegiance and submission, most of the settlers in the exposed districts abandoned the clearings that had been won at such cost from the primeval forest, buried their treasures, pitifully few, but none the less highly prized, and fled. Some of the men from these lonely households were in the American army, summoned to defend Ticonderoga, the gateway to the north. Like hunted

creatures before a prairie fire these settlers poured out of the valleys and down the mountain slopes—some of the fugitives being men, but more of them women and little children, and babes in arms—mostly on foot, hurrying southward through the pitiless forest, in mortal terror of the ever present and awful danger of the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage foe. At Rutland, and Bennington they converged like little rivulets in a larger stream. Some of them remained in the stronger settlements, but many pressed on to the refuge of the old homes in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

In all the three centuries of recorded history in the Champlain Valley, there is hardly a chapter that appeals so powerfully to the sympathetic imagination of the reader as this record of the stripping bare of the north country settlements by the terror induced by the approach of General Burgoyne and his savage allies, led by the ferocious La Corne St. Luc. It is difficult—it is well nigh impossible—for those who dwell today in ease and safety to picture this flight of the pioneers, as in poverty and in sorrow, in hunger and in pain, they stumbled along the blind forest trails, listening for the dreaded warwhoop, spurred on by the ever present fear that death, or worse, always followed close behind.

In time, when the immediate peril had passed, many returned to the abandoned homesteads, there to lay anew the foundations of the towns and cities that flourish today; but the haunting memories of this awful experience lingered long in their minds, and while the war still dragged slowly on there were families that never lay down to sleep without first concealing their most precious possessions, fearing that out of the darkness might come a sudden foray of the dreaded foe. Thus there "came out of great tribulation" the men and women who planted states in the wilderness.

CHAPTER XII

THE COMING OF PEACE

WITH the surrender of Burgoyne, the important military and naval operation of the Revolutionary War on Lake Champlain ended.

In the summer of 1777 Moses Pierson, of Shelburne, raised a large crop of wheat, and soon after it was harvested he and other settlers were obliged to abandon their farms. In January, 1778, Pierson, his family, and a few men returned to thresh the wheat. Being menaced by Tories and Indians, aid was asked of the Vermont authorities and Capt. Thomas Sawyer, Lieut. Barnabas Barnum, Corporal Williams, and fourteen soldiers were sent through the woods from Clarendon to Shelburne. No attack was made for several weeks. It is claimed that a Tory named Philo went to Canada on skates and informed the British authorities of the exposed position of the party at Shelburne.

Pierson's log house had been strongly barricaded. On the night of March 12 a party of fifty-seven men, apparently Indians, although it is supposed that some were white men in disguise, attacked the Pierson house and a desperate fight was waged for about two hours. Almost at the first fire Joshua Woodard and a man named Daniels, who had come to Shelburne to buy wheat, were killed, others being wounded. Several attempts were made to burn the house. Some of the occupants sallied forth at the first attempt and extinguished the flames. When the second fire was started there was no water with which to extinguish it. Mrs. Pierson had made a barrel of beer the day before the attack and this beverage was used to put out the fire.

The attack was successfully repelled. The enemy lost one officer and one Indian chief. Other dead are said to have been thrown into the lake through a crack in the ice, or carried to Canada. Two prisoners were taken. Captain Sawyer cut from the nose of the dead chieftain his jewels and also secured a powder horn and bullet pouch as trophies.

Two sons of Moses Pierson, Ziba and Uzal, lads aged respectively fifteen and seventeen years, took an active part in the defense. An infant daughter, lying on the bed escaped unhurt, although several bullets were found in the bed and others passed through the head-board. This daughter later became Mrs. Nehemiah Pray.

By order of the Vermont Council of Safety Capts. Ebenezer Allen and Isaac Clark were ordered to relieve Captain Sawyer at Shelburne, and to take post at Fort William, on Otter Creek. The Pierson family went to Orwell. The two sons, Ziba and Uzal, and an elderly man, took the cattle into the Shoreham forests to browse on the leaves of the trees. Here the men were surprised by a scouting party from Canada seeking Moses Pierson, for whom a large reward had been offered, dead or alive, as a notorious rebel. The three captives were taken to a prison on the banks of the St. Lawrence. The man captured was never heard from again, but the boys succeeded in escaping, and after suffering great privations returned to Vermont, looking like walking skeletons when they reached home.

In the fall of the year 1777 General Gates, head of the Board of War determined that another Canadian invasion was feasible. At first General Stark was chosen leader of the expedition, but later Lafayette was substituted. This distinguished French officer came to Albany, February 17, 1778. Vermont had ordered that a

battalion of six companies of fifty men each should be raised under Colonel Herrick, but other troops expected were not forthcoming, and the project was abandoned.

In April, 1778, Warner's regiment was ordered to Albany and the frontier was left with no regular troops for protection. A stockaded fort covering about two acres was built at Rutland, with a blockhouse two stories high, at one end. In November, 1778, a British force came up the lake as far as Ticonderoga, and many of the settlements in the Champlain Valley were raided, Addison County suffered severely. Nearly every building in Middlebury was destroyed except a barn built of green timber, which would not burn. A considerable number of prisoners were taken, thirty-nine being captured in the town of Bridport.

On March 12, 1779, the Vermont Board of War resolved that "the west line of Castleton and the west and north lines of Pittsford to the foot of the Green Mountains be established as a line between the inhabitants of the State and the enemy." All the settlers north of this line were ordered to remove south of it and directions were given to build picket forts at Castleton and Pittsford. It was recommended that the women and children should be removed to a convenient place south of the forts and that the men should work their farms "in collective bodies, with arms."

In November, 1779, another Indian raid occurred, which affords an illustration of the hardships endured by the pioneers during the Revolution. The houses of Capt. Thomas Tuttle and Joseph Barker, and a sawmill, in Brandon, were burned by a party of the enemy from Canada, Mr. Barker being taken prisoner.

Left alone with a child fourteen months old, Mrs. Barker started for the home of a friend three miles

distant. Night having fallen, she was compelled to stop for shelter at a deserted house, where two years before two neighbors had been killed by the savages. Here, in this lonely and gruesome place, not knowing whether her husband was alive or dead, with no companion but a babe scarcely more than a year old, she gave birth to a child. The next day a searching party headed by Mrs. Barker's father, found her, and with her children, she was taken to a place of safety. Mr. Barker, feigning illness, escaped and soon joined his family.

In May, 1780, Sir John Johnson, with a party of Tories and Indians, made a raid into the Mohawk Valley. Governor Clinton hastened to Lake George to intercept him, and called on the Vermont officials for aid. Capt. Ebenezer Allen and 200 men at once responded. They assembled at Mount Independence on Lake Champlain, but lacking boats could proceed no farther. Johnson, however, returned by way of Crown Point, and avoided the American troops.

Early in October Major Carleton came up the lake from St. Johns with eight large vessels, and 1,000 regulars, loyalists, and Indians, to create a diversion in favor of Johnson, who attacked the Scoharie and Mohawk regions. Captain Chipman, with about eighty of Warner's regiment, held Fort George. Being nearly destitute of supplies he sent a messenger on October 11 to Fort Edward for provisions. This messenger was fired upon by a party of twenty-five men, but returned to the fort in safety. Supposing this to be a scouting party, Chipman sent out all but fourteen of his men. They met the enemy not far from the fort and nearly every man was killed or captured. After a short resistance Fort George was taken. Fort Ann was also captured.

This attack caused the greatest alarm in the Champlain Valley. The Vermont militia was ordered to rendezvous at Castleton and Gen. Ethan Allen, who had been released from captivity in 1778, having been exchanged for a British officer, was made commander. About this time a party of 300 men, mostly Indians, came up the lake as far as the mouth of the Winooski River, ascended that stream, crossed the Green Mountains, descended the White River, and falling upon Royalton burned that town, killing two persons, and taking about thirty prisoners. During the year 1781 a British fleet cruised about the lake and landings were made at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, but no aggressive action was taken.

The story of the Haldimand negotiations, by means of which the Vermont leaders deceived the British authorities, leading them to believe that the State, owing to a dispute with New York and failure to receive recognition from Congress, might resume allegiance to the British crown, is too long to tell here. That the Vermont leaders cherished any treasonable designs is unthinkable, when the character of the men engaged is considered. They did succeed, however, with no troops except a few Vermont militia, in protecting the Champlain Valley, and in keeping a considerable number of British soldiers in idleness.

For nearly thirteen years after the war closed the British retained posts at Point au Fer, on the New York shore, and at Dutchman's Point, on the island of North Hero, but the soldiers never molested the inhabitants.

In 1783, while awaiting the signing of the treaty of peace, Washington, with several of his officers, and Governor Clinton of New York, ascended the Hudson River and visited Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

With the close of the Revolutionary War, the valley on both sides of the lake was rapidly settled, many soldiers coming into this region to find homes. More than seventy army veterans settled in the town of Pawlet alone. The New York legislature, in 1781, granted bounties of lands to officers and soldiers who should enlist within a specified time.

In 1784 Judge Zepheniah Platt, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and thirty-two others purchased the rights to a township and located upon the grant formerly made by Great Britain to Charles de Fredenburg. This town of Plattsburg originally included the present townships of Saranac, Schuyler's Falls and Beekmantown, and parts of the old towns of Peru and Chateaugay. Among the prominent men who made their homes here at an early date were Peter Sailly, Thomas Treadwell, Melancton Smith, Melancton L. Woolsey, and Gen. Benjamin Mooers. Plattsburg was organized as a town on April 14, 1785. In 1810 the population was 3,112. General Mooers had begun the first permanent settlement at Beekmantown in 1783.

In 1783 Jacques Rous settled at Rouses Point.

In 1788 the town of Champlain was organized, a part being set off in 1804 as the town of Chazy. Peru was settled about 1789. In 1788 Clinton County was set off from Washington County. In 1799 Essex County was taken from it, and in 1808 its limits were still farther reduced by the erection of the County of Franklin.

The population of Clinton County in 1810 was 8,032.

In 1788 the towns of Willsboro and Crown Point were organized. Willsboro included the present towns of Chesterfield, Essex, Lewis and a part of the old town of Peru. Crown Point included all the region between Willsboro and Lake George. Elizabethtown was settled about 1785,

and organized in 1801. Chesterfield was organized in 1802; Ticonderoga, in 1804; Essex, in 1805; and Moriah, in 1808. The population of Essex County in 1810 was 9,525.

Washington County, which was organized in 1784, originally included all the towns on the west side of Lake Champlain, but now touches the lake only on its northeastern corner. Whitehall was organized in 1788. In 1810 the town of Putnam, consisting of the tongue of land between Lakes Champlain and George, contained a population of 499. The population of Washington County in 1786 was 4,456; in 1810, it was 42,289, although much reduced in area, meanwhile. Returning to the east side of the lake, Alburgh was organized as a town in 1792, but British loyalists settled here as early as 1782. Isle La Motte was chartered to Benjamin Wait and others in 1789. The town was organized in 1790. In 1802 the name was changed to Vineyard, but in 1830 the original name of Isle La Motte was restored. North Hero, South Hero, and Grand Isle were granted in 1779 to Ethan Allen, Samuel Herrick and others. The settlement of North Hero was begun in 1783, and the town was organized in 1789. In 1784 South Hero was settled and in 1788 became an organized township. The settlement of Middle Hero, or Grand Isle, was begun in 1783, and in 1798 it was separated from South Hero as an independent township.

The first settlers in Highgate were Germans, who had served in the British army during the Revolution. The township was first regularly surveyed in 1805. Although Swanton contained a French and Indian village, at an early date, the first permanent settlement was in 1787, the town being organized in 1790. Beginning with the year 1786, settlers began to come into St. Albans, and in 1788 the town was organized. The settlement of Georgia

was begun in 1784, and during the next two years many families came from Bennington and from western Massachusetts, the town being organized in 1788. The pioneer settlers came to Milton in 1782, and the town was organized six years later. In 1733 Ira Allen returned to Colchester, and in that year several families moved to Colchester Point. The town was organized about 1791. Allen built mills, a forge, and an anchor shop at Winooski falls.

In the spring of 1783 Stephen Lawrence brought his family to Burlington and other families followed the same year. The first town meeting was held in 1787, and in that year Ethan Allen moved into the town, dying two years later, in 1789. The University of Vermont, located here, was chartered in 1791 and the first building was begun in 1794. The first commencement was held in 1804. As soon as the war was closed the Shelburne settlers returned, and in 1787, when the town was organized, there were twenty-four families within its limits. Derick Webb, who had come to Charlotte for the first time in 1776, returned in 1784, and others soon followed. In 1790 McNeil's ferry between Charlotte and Essex, N. Y., was established. Ferrisburg was settled in 1784, and organized as a town in 1786. The Panton settlers returned after the war, and organized the town in 1784.

When the Addison settlers returned in May, 1783, they found that every building in town had been destroyed. Most of the inhabitants left Bridport during the Revolution, but returned with the advent of peace, and organized a town in 1784. Shoreham settlers came back when the danger of attacks by an armed enemy had passed, and others emigrated from Massachusetts and Connecticut. The first permanent settlement in Orwell

was made in 1783, and four years later a town government was organized.

Benson was chartered in 1780, being named in honor of a Revolutionary officer. A settlement was begun in 1783, and the town was organized in 1786. West Haven was set off from Fair Haven in 1792.

Rutland County was incorporated in 1781, Chittenden County in 1782, Addison County in 1787, and Franklin County in 1792. The first twenty-five years following the declaration of peace was a period of rapid growth in the lake counties of Vermont. The population of Rutland County in 1790 was 15,591; in 1810, 29,486. Chittenden County contained 7,295 people in 1790; in 1810 it reported a population of 18,120. The population of Addison County was 6,449 in 1790; in 1810 it was 19,993. Franklin County was not organized in 1790 but in 1800 it contained a population of 8,782; in 1810 the number returned was 16,427.

Thus it will be seen that in 1810, a little more than a quarter of a century following the signing of the first treaty of peace with Great Britain, the lake counties of Vermont contained a total population of 84,026, the lake counties of New York, including Washington, a total of 59,846 inhabitants, making an aggregate population of 143,872 for the entire Champlain Valley.

The period between the first and second wars with Great Britain was one of remarkable growth for this region, as the census figures quoted prove, so that in twenty-five years what was chiefly an unsettled wilderness at the beginning of that period had become a land of prosperous farms and thriving villages.

The embargo act, growing out of the British complications, which shut out foreign goods, led to widespread smuggling on the Lake Champlain frontier, and in 1808

a serious affray occurred on the Winooski River between customs officials and smugglers on board a craft known as the *Black Snake,* which had operated in Missisquoi Bay. The violaters of the revenue law were captured after Jonathan Ormsby and Asa Marsh, of the government service had been killed. Cyrus B. Dean, of Swanton, was found guilty of murder, and executed on November 11, 1808, seven other men being sentenced to prison terms. Franklin County was the scene during this period of many similar encounters of a less sensational nature.

CHAPTER XIII

BEGINNING OF THE WAR OF 1812

LONG before the War of 1812 actually was begun the course of events pointed to another conflict between the United States and Great Britain. Early in January, 1809, Lieut. Melancton Woolsey was ordered to build two gunboats on Lake Champlain. In February, 1809, a British emissary, John Henry, sent into New England to ascertain how far the members of the Federalist party would go toward separation from the Union, visited Burlington, but he found no evidence of any serious disloyalty to the government.

The opening of the year 1812 found Lake Champlain a commercial thoroughfare surrounded by well-cultivated farms, an entirely different country from that of the Revolutionary War period. Plattsburg, with more than 3,000 inhabitants, and Burlington, with nearly 2,000, were growing, enterprising villages, centers of trade for large areas of country in the States of New York and Vermont, respectively.

President James Madison issued his proclamation of war against Great Britain on June 18, 1812. In October of that year the Vermont legislature pledged its support to the national government by a vote of 128 to 79, and prohibited all intercourse with Canada without the Governor's permission under a penalty of $7,000 fine and seven years' imprisonment at hard labor. New York State also heartily endorsed the policy of Madison's administration.

Not long before the formal declaration of war, Col. Isaac Clark, of the Eleventh United States Infantry, a

veteran of the Revolution, known as "Old Rifle" among the Green Mountain Boys, and a son-in-law of Gov. Thomas Chittenden, was ordered to Burlington to make ready for the impending conflict. He purchased for government purposes two five-acre lots on a bluff overlooking the lake, a tract including the present site of Battery Park. Little more was done at Burlington during the summer of that year.

Gen. Joseph Bloomfield was ordered to Lake Champlain and by September 1 he had assembled an army of 8,000 men on the west shore of the lake, with headquarters at Plattsburg and outposts at Chazy and Champlain. Under Gen. Henry Dearborn, commander-in-chief of the army, a Revolutionary veteran and a former secretary of war, a forward movement was made on November 16, and with 3,000 regulars and 2,000 militia, he encamped about half a mile south of the Canadian border. An advance was made on the outposts of Lacolle, Que., but before daylight, on the morning of November 20, two American detachments fired on each other for nearly half an hour before the discovery was made that both parties were Americans. Five men were killed and five were wounded. After this inglorious affair the troops returned to Champlain.

The Sixth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth regiments of United States troops went into winter quarters at Plattsburg under command of Col. Zebulon Pike, the well-known explorer, who discovered and gave his name to Pike's Peak, in the Rocky Mountains. In the fall of 1812 four infantry regiments were sent to Burlington, the Ninth, Eleventh, Twenty-first, and Twenty-fifth, Gen. John Chandler commanding. They went into winter quarters, remaining until March 25, 1813, when a threatened attack on Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., made it necessary

to send Chandler's brigade to that place. The troops were transported across the lake on the ice and overland to their destination in 300 sleighs, the necessary teams being impressed from Vermont farmers. It is related that members of the Federalist party complained that it was hardly consistent to impress themselves and their teams into service to help carry on a war begun to avenge the impressment of American seamen by British sea captains.

When war was declared the American naval force on Lake Champlain consisted of two gunboats built in 1808. These boats were at Basin Harbor, on the east side of the lake, one being partly sunk, with seams open almost wide enough to admit a man's head. On September 12, 1812, Lieut. Thomas Macdonough, then only 28 years old, who had won distinction under Decatur, was ordered by President Madison from Portland, Me., to Burlington, to take command of the American fleet on Lake Champlain. Starting on horseback, his only attendant being a country lad who returned with the horse, he arrived at Burlington after a four days' journey, and assumed command of naval affairs.

After consulting with General Dearborn at Plattsburg he went to Whitehall on October 13 and began to fit two gunboats and the sloops *Hunter* and *Bull Dog* for service. Those vessels unfit for active service were retained as transports. There were two other sloops on the lake, the *President* and the *Montgomery;* but Hon. Charles H. Darling, for several years assistant secretary of the navy, in a paper on Macdonough read before the Vermont Historical Society, declared that these vessels were not in the regular fleet, probably being under the control of the War Department. Rodney Macdonough, a grandson of the American naval commander, in his "Life of Commodore Thomas Macdonough," says that Dearborn gave up the

command of the *President* during the fall and that it was included by Macdonough in a report to the Navy Department December 20.

Before Macdonough's arrival, Lieut. Sidney Smith was in command of the few war vessels on the lake and General Dearborn had under his control six transports, the command of which he turned over with reluctance. A sloop called the *Rising Sun* was purchased later and rechristened the *Preble*. A steamboat also was bought and named the *Ticonderoga*, but her engines did not work in a satisfactory manner and she was refitted as a schooner. At the close of the season of 1812, "my poor forlorn looking squadron," as Macdonough described his fleet, went into winter quarters at Shelburne.

Obtaining a leave of absence at the close of the season of 1812, Macdonough went to Middletown, Conn., where, on December 12, he married Miss Lucy Ann Shaler, daughter of Nathaniel Shaler, who in his youth had been a Tory. Macdonough brought his bride, an attractive and talented young woman, to Burlington, where the couple spent the winter. The American commander devoted his time to putting his fleet into better condition. Fifteen ship carpenters were sent from New York in February, 1813, and in March carronades, gun carriages and ammunition were sent to Whitehall to be forwarded to Shelburne when navigation opened. The sloops *Hunter* and *Bull Dog* were remodeled so as to carry eleven guns each instead of seven, and they were renamed the *Growler* and the *Eagle*. The *President* was the flagship during the whole of the year 1813.

In April Macdonough sailed out of Shelburne harbor with the sloop, *President*, twelve guns; the sloop *Growler*, commanded by Lieut. Sidney Smith, eleven guns; the sloop *Eagle*, commanded by Sailing Master Jarius Loomis,

eleven guns; and two gunboats, each carrying two guns. About April 25 the three sloops were at Plattsburg.

During the month of June Macdonough received orders from Secretary of the Navy Jones, which included the following admonition: "You are to understand that upon no account are you to suffer the enemy to gain the ascendency on Lake Champlain."

During the first week of June, 1813, a British force was reported to be annoying both shores of the lake and Lieut. Sidney Smith was ordered to proceed against the enemy with the *Growler* and the *Eagle*. Macdonough's flagship, the *President*, had been run ashore and damaged and he remained to make repairs. The crews were mostly recruited from Captain Herrick's company of McCobb's Maine regiment, who were chiefly lumbermen from the seacoast towns.

Lieutenant Smith left Plattsburg on June 2, anchoring for the night near the international boundary. Very early the next morning, without orders, and contrary to Macdonough's advice, he proceeded down the Richelieu River as far as Isle aux Tetes, or Ash Island, where he sighted and chased three British gunboats. With a strong south wind blowing, Isle aux Noix was soon approached. The fortifications here were too strong to attack and afforded protection for the gunboats. The *Growler* and the *Eagle* now attempted to beat back against the adverse wind and the swift current, a difficult task.

The enemy, seeing the plight of the American boats, sent out row galleys, armed with more powerful guns than those carried by Smith's craft. About 200 or 300 men were distributed along both shores of the river, by the British commandant, and a brisk musket fire was opened. After a battle lasting several hours a 24-pound shot struck the port bow of the *Eagle*, and passing obliquely through

the ship, tore off three planks from her starboard side below the water line. The boat immediately sank, but in shallow water, and the crew were taken off by boats sent from shore. A little later, about 11.15 o'clock, a 24-pound shot struck the *Growler's* mast, rendering the sloop unmanageable. Her ammunition was exhausted and she was run ashore where she was captured. On the *Growler,* one man was killed and eight men were wounded; on the *Eagle,* eleven were wounded. The British loss is said to have been severe. The captured officers and crews, numbering 112 men, were sent as prisoners to Montreal and later to Halifax. Lieutenant Smith and two companions escaped from jail at Quebec by making a rope of strips of carpet and letting themselves down from an attic window, but they were soon recaptured. A court of inquiry investigated the capture of the boats and exonerated Lieutenant Smith.

The *Growler* and the *Eagle* were refitted and rechristened the *Broke* and the *Shannon.* Macdonough, with the *President* and two gunboats, retired to Burlington.

The British force on the lake, with this success, was superior to that commanded by Macdonough, and great alarm was created by rumors that an army 6,000 strong was to be sent into the Champlain valley from Canada. Col. Isaac Clark called upon the militia to rally to the defense of the exposed frontier, and also appealed to the men who had passed the age when they were subject to military service. As a result of this appeal a "Burlington Corps of Exempts" was organized, containing fifty-seven men. According to the late Hon. G. G. Benedict, "this roll comprised prominent jurists, lawyers, physicians, bankers, merchants, and others of the first citizens of Burlington of that day." The two Burlington militia companies, commanded by Capt. Moses Jewett and Capt. Guy

Catlin, respectively, and the "Corps of Exempts," were ordered, on June 10, to be ready for immediate service.

Three days later, on June 13, 1813, five companies of the Thirteenth United States Infantry, comprising 550 men under command of Major Phelps, and a detachment of United States artillery with two 24-pound guns, arrived. The artillery was commanded by Lieut. Sylvester Churchill, recently graduated from the United States Military Academy, a native of Vermont, who was inspector general of the army at the opening of the Civil War, in 1861.

Under the direction of Lieutenant Churchill what is now called the Battery was fortified. From fields a mile or two distant, sods were brought with which a parapet containing thirteen embrasures was built. A regiment raised near Burlington, containing 500 men and commanded by Colonel Williams, arrived June 16, and encamped on a plateau near the Battery. On June 20 the Fourth United States Infantry, 700 strong, commanded by Lieut.-Col. John Dorrington, arrived from Boston; also a detachment of regular troops under Lieut-Col. Martin Norton, bringing four pieces of heavy artillery.

A little later a regiment from Windsor County, under Col. Daniel Dana, and more heavy artillery arrived.

It is related that desertions were frequent, and that on June 21 eight deserters, who had been tried by court martial and sentenced to death, were brought forth in the presence of a great concourse of people, to be executed. The troops were formed in a hollow square. Colonel Clark was within this square, seated on a white horse, and the condemned men being brought before him, were solemnly warned not to repeat the offense, and then were pardoned. A little later John Cummings of the Fourth United States Infantry, blindfolded and kneeling on his

coffin, was shot as a deserter. Gen. Thomas Parker of Virginia, arrived on July 1, 1813, and relieved Colonel Clark of the command. There were encamped at Burlington on July 6 about 3,000 men, comprising the Second Battalion of the Fourth United States Infantry, six companies of the Eleventh Infantry, recruited in Vermont, the Twenty-ninth Infantry, the Thirtieth Infantry, recruited in Vermont, the Thirty-first Infantry, two troops of cavalry and two companies of artillery. Wooden barracks for the men were erected between Pearl and North Streets, extending north and south, and several small story-and-a-half cottages were built at the lower end of Pearl Street for officers' quarters.

Gen. Wade Hampton, grandfather of the Wade Hampton prominent as a Confederate cavalry officer and United States senator from South Carolina, arrived at Burlington on July 30 and assumed command. Returns for August 2 show that the army under Hampton's control consisted of 140 dragoons, 90 artillerymen, 3,017 regular infantry, and 806 militia, a total of 4,053 men. Of this number 557 were reported sick, and 327 absent. Gen. James Wilkinson had been assigned to the command of the Northern department.

Macdonough endeavored to repair the damage sustained by the loss of the *Growler* and the *Eagle,* and acting under the authority given him he purchased two sloops and fitted them out at Burlington. Secretary of the Navy Jones ordered the navy agent at New York to forward the guns which Macdonough needed, adding that "the critical state of things on Lake Champlain by the unfortunate loss of the *Growler* and the *Eagle* renders great exertions necessary in order to regain command of that lake." A number of ship carpenters were hired at New York and Captain Evans of the Brooklyn Navy Yard was ordered to send

100 sailors to Lake Champlain. It was so difficult to obtain men for his ships that Macdonough informed General Hampton early in July that it was his intention temporarily to dismantle and lay up the two gunboats until crews could be secured.

On July 30 Col. John Murray, with over 1,400 British troops and marines on two sloops, the *Broke* and the *Shannon,* three gunboats, and forty-seven bateaux, crossed the international boundary line, and on Saturday, July 31, he destroyed the blockhouse, arsenal, armory, hospital, and a military cantonment near Fredenburgh Falls, two miles from the village of Plattsburg. Three private storehouses were burned. Hardware belonging to Boston merchants, valued at $200,000, and other private property to the amount of $8,000, formed part of the booty. Dwellings were broken open by soldiers and their contents carried away, it is said in the presence of British officers, although Colonel Murray had promised that private property should be protected. The public property destroyed was valued at $25,000. At this time no regular troops were stationed at Plattsburg. On Sunday morning, August 1, Murray completed his task and embarked hastily, leaving behind a picket guard of twenty-one men. These soldiers were taken prisoners and were sent to Burlington. It is claimed that news of the British approach was sent to General Hampton, at Burlington, twenty-four hours before the attack, but he failed to send any aid.

Houses were plundered at Cumberland Head and a store was burned at Chazy Landing.

On Monday morning, August 2, the *Broke,* commanded by Capt. Thomas Everard, the *Shannon,* under Capt. Daniel Pring, and one gunboat, appeared off Burlington "to observe the state of the enemy's force there and to

afford him an opportunity of deciding the naval superiority of the lake," as Everard reported the following day to Sir George Prevost. Macdonough's ships were in no condition to do battle with the British squadron. Two sloops were in the hands of the carpenters, one being without a mast. One sloop was fit for duty, in addition to which there were two small gunboats, each carrying a 12-pounder, and two or three scows. These craft were anchored under the protection of the battery on the bluff.

At 2.30 o'clock in the afternoon the British ships approached Burlington, it being supposed that they intended, if possible, to destroy three public storehouses erected on the wharf. When about a mile and a half from shore a cannonade was begun, the fire being returned by the battery under Lieutenant Churchill, by Macdonough's ships, and by Captain Chapell of the artillery, who had loaded two 12-pounders on a scow, the skirmish lasting twenty minutes. Having received several shots from the American guns, the British ships drew off toward the south.

Some of Macdonough's ships followed for two miles, but did not venture farther, as it was believed that other vessels were in hiding ready to attack, returning two hours later to their anchorage under the guns of the land battery. The British ships proceeded south about ten miles, captured and destroyed four small sailing vessels, and returned northward the next morning with a small sloop laden with flour, taken near Shelburne, and two or three ferry boats as prizes.

No damage of importance was done at Burlington. A story is told to the effect that a ball entered a house and shattered a bureau at which Macdonough was shaving, whereupon that officer shook his fist at the enemy's ships and exclaimed: "I'll pay you for this some time." This tale is very improbable, and Rodney Macdonough well

says that had a bombardment been in progress his distinguished ancestor "would probably have been attending to more important matters than shaving himself."

At the same time that this raid was made upon Plattsburg and Burlington, the exact date being a matter of dispute, two British gunboats and some of the bateaux entered Maquam Bay, on the Swanton shore. About 600 soldiers landed at what was known as the Manzer place, and compelled Mr. Manzer, then an old man, to act as guide to Swanton. A part of this force was ferried over the Missisquoi River, the others remaining at the riverside. Troops had been stationed at Swanton in 1810 and 1811 to aid in enforcing the revenue laws. In 1812 barracks had been erected, built in the form of a crescent, east of the park, or "green," and there was a parade ground northwest of the barracks. From July 12 to December 8, 1812, eight companies of the First Vermont militia under command of Colonel Williams were stationed here, being discharged on the latter date. Soon after, Colonel Fifield's regiment was ordered to Swanton, where they remained five or six weeks and then left, only to be sent back a little later to spend the winter of 1812-13 in quarters at this place. Early in the summer of 1813 the troops were ordered away, and when the British approached the government stores and property were unprotected. The barracks and all government property that could be found were burned, but there was no interference with private property, and after spending a few hours the soldiers departed, the entire British force retiring to Canada.

On July 24, 1813, Macdonough was promoted from the rank of lieutenant to that of master commandant and he was generally called commodore, although no such rank had been conferred upon him.

General Wilkinson, writing from Sacketts Harbor, N. Y., on August 30, 1813, to the secretary of war, suggested that General Hampton, who was at Burlington, should without delay, "cross the Champlain and commence his movements toward St. Johns, taking the Isle aux Noix in his route, or not, as circumstances might justify." In compliance with this suggestion Hampton was ordered to proceed directly against Isle aux Noix. He consulted with Macdonough on September 7 regarding the feasibility of a joint land and naval attack. The naval commander feared that to enter the narrow channel of the Richelieu River would invite a disaster similar to that which had overtaken the *Growler* and the *Eagle* under Lieutenant Smith near Isle aux Noix. He believed he could maintain the mastery of the lake, that being his chief duty, and he declined to cooperate with Hampton, a decision that called forth criticism from the secretary of war.

By great diligence Macdonough had made his fleet ready for action by August 20. Fifty men to aid in manning the ships reached Burlington on August 19, and about 200 more, with some officers, arrived early in September. General Hampton loaned him enough soldiers to complete the force needed for handling his fleet, and on September 6 Macdonough sailed for Plattsburg with the following vessels: The sloop *President,* the flagship, ten guns; the sloop *Preble,* nine guns; the sloop *Montgomery,* nine guns; the sloop *Frances,* 5 guns; the sloop *Wasp,* three guns; two gunboats, each armed with a long 12-pounder. The *Frances* and the *Wasp,* small craft, which had sailed badly, had been hired, and were used as armed tenders. This fleet was augmented on October 9 by two more gunboats, built at Plattsburg. They were constructed at the north end of the lake owing to the difficulty of

navigation, the water being three feet lower than ever known before, it was said. When Macdonough left Burlington on September 6 it was with the intention of seeking a British squadron of two sloops and three gunboats that had been reported to be just north of Plattsburg. He found them near the boundary line, but as the American ships approached, the fleet of the enemy withdrew down the Richelieu. Macdonough declined to be drawn into the river and returned to Plattsburg.

Having assembled a force of 4,000 men including a body of New York militia, at Cumberland Head for an attack upon the British posts in the valley of the Richelieu, General Hampton left for the north on September 19 in bateaux, convoyed by the fleet. Arriving at Chazy at midnight the soldiers lay on their arms, and soon after sunrise embarked again. Entering the Big Chazy River, the army ascended that stream four miles, as far as the rapids at Champlain, where a landing was made. A squadron of horse and two companies of artillery joined Hampton's force here, and the army proceeded to Odelltown, Que. After a day's stay, learning that the water supply was short, owing to an extreme drouth, Hampton changed his plans, and decided to advance toward Montreal by way of Chateaugay. Returning to Champlain on September 21, he advanced to Chateaugay Four Corners on September 24, where he remained for twenty-six days. On October 20 he crossed the border and attacked a small body of British troops, being defeated with a loss of thirty-five men killed and wounded. A few days later the army broke camp and returned to Plattsburg, going into winter quarters at that place.

While Hampton was encamped at Chateaugay, Col. Isaac Clark, in command at Champlain, was ordered to make a diversion on the border. With 110 men he left

Champlain on the evening of October 11 and crossed to the village of Missisquoi Bay, Que. (Phillipsburg), where a small British force under Major Powell was stationed. Advancing in double quick time, Clark ordered the British soldiers, hastily drawn up near the guard house, to lay down their arms. Taken by surprise, and believing from Clark's boldness that he was supported by a large force, Major Powell obeyed the summons. The main body of the enemy, however, did not yield, and prepared to charge; but a well-directed volley from the Americans cut down the captain and several soldiers, whereupon the rest threw down their arms and surrendered.

Captain Finch was directed to keep on the lookout for a body of 200 of the enemy under Colonel Lock, which was reported to be approaching. An advance guard of cavalry was surprised and the remainder retreated. The British loss was nine killed and fourteen wounded. Clark took his prisoners, numbering 101 men, to Burlington.

About the middle of December a British force under Captain Barker crossed the Vermont line and destroyed some public storehouses and barracks at Derby, Vt.

On December 4 a force of 400 British under Captain Pring, in six large galleys, landed at Cumberland Head and burned an empty storehouse. Seeing the smoke of the burning building, Macdonough's fleet started in pursuit of the enemy. Four galleys under the command of Lieut. Stephen Cassin were directed to bring Pring's ships into action, if possible, thus allowing the sloops to come up. The British refused battle, however, their superior number of sweeps enabling them to keep the lead. After following the retreating foe for three hours the pursuit was abandoned. A little later, on December 21, the American fleet went into winter quarters at Vergennes, on the Otter Creek.

Soon after General Hampton's departure from Burlington, in September, Gen. Alexander Macomb was assigned to the command at that place.

The Ninth, Eleventh, Twenty-first and Twenty-fifth regiments were ordered to Burlington from Plattsburg, and the third brigade of the third division of the Vermont militia under Colonel Fassett were called out for three months, being reviewed at Burlington by Gov. Martin Chittenden. This addition to the army at Burlington made more extensive quarters necessary for the winter. An arrangement was made whereby the main college building of the University of Vermont, a large four-story brick structure, was used for army barracks, upon payment of an annual rental of $5,000.

Nathan B. Haswell was acting commissary at Burlington, and he gave up his business building in the village for an army storehouse. The cellar was transformed into a great vat with a capacity of 300 barrels, where beef was salted for the use of the troops. According to Mr. Haswell the army rations at that time consisted of a pound and a half of beef, or three-quarters of a pound of pork, eighteen ounces of bread or flour, a gill of rum, whiskey, or brandy; with two quarts of salt, four quarts of vinegar, four pounds of soap, and a pound and a half of candles for each one hundred rations. Regarding the heavy mortality among the troops at Burlington Mr. Haswell said: "Several hundred died weekly, and it was not uncommon to find that twenty had died in a night."

Martin Chittenden, a Federalist, was elected governor of Vermont by the legislature in 1813, no choice having been made by the people. His party did not look with favor upon the war and objected to the use of the militia outside the State. When General Izard had been withdrawn from Plattsburg by order of the secretary of war

to join General Wilkinson, the third brigade of the third division of the Vermont militia, under Lieut. Col. Luther Dixon, was sent across the lake to take the place, in part, of the regulars ordered away.

On November 10, 1813, Governor Chittenden issued a proclamation ordering these troops to return to the State, and to hold themselves in readiness to act under the orders of Gen. Jacob Davis, claiming that "an extensive section of our own Frontier is left unprotected," and that the citizens were "exposed to the retaliatory incursions and ravages of an exasperated enemy." He closed the proclamation by declaring that in his opinion "the Military strength and resources of this State must be reserved for its own defense and protection *exclusively* excepting in cases provided for by the Constitution of the U. States; and then, under orders derived *only* from the Commander-in-chief."

Colonel Dixon and seventeen of his officers replied in a vigorous statement, said to have been written by Capt. Sanford Gadcomb, of St. Albans, which was, in part, as follows: "With due deference to your Excellency's opinion, we humbly conceive, that when we are ordered into the service of the United States, it becomes our duty, when required, to march to the defense of any section of the Union. We are not of that class who believe that our duties as citizens or soldiers are circumscribed within the narrow limits of the Town or State in which we reside, but that we are under a paramount obligation to our common country, to the great confederation of States. We further conceive that, while we are in actual service, and during the period for which we were ordered into service, your Excellency's power over us as Governor of the State of Vermont, is suspended. * * * Viewing the subject in this light, we conceive it our duty to declare unequivocally

to your Excellency, that we shall not obey your Excellency's order for returning, but shall continue in the service of our country until we are legally and honorably discharged. An invitation or order to desert the standard of our country will never be obeyed by us, although it proceeds from the Governor and Captain General of Vermont. * * *

"We shall take the liberty to state to your Excellency, plainly, our sentiments on this subject. We consider your proclamation as a gross insult to the officers and soldiers in the service, inasmuch as it implies that they are so ignorant of their rights as to believe that you have authority to command them in their present situation, or so abandoned as to follow your insidious advice. We cannot regard your proclamation in any other light, than as an unwarrantable stretch of executive authority, issued from the worst motives, to effect the basest purposes. It is in our opinion a renewed instance of that spirit of disorganization and anarchy which is carried on by a faction to overwhelm our country with disgrace. We cannot perceive what other object your Excellency could have in view than to embarrass the operations of the army, to excite mutiny and sedition among the soldiers and induce them to desert, that they might forfeit the wages to which they are entitled for their patriotic services." The statement added that even the soldiers regarded the governor's proclamation "with mingled emotions of pity and contempt for its author, and as a striking monument of his folly."

It is said that the messenger sent to Plattsburg by Governor Chittenden to deliver this proclamation was helped in ignominious fashion out of camp. The brigade remained at Plattsburg until it was known that the threat-

ened invasion from Canada had been abandoned for the winter.

Late in December, fearing once more that an attack from Canada was being planned, the Plattsburg town officials wrote to General Wilkinson, setting forth the exposed condition of public property there, and the need of more troops. In response to this appeal a company of dragoons from Burlington and a detachment of infantry from Chateaugay Four Corners were ordered there, the infantry reaching Plattsburg January 8, 1814, after a forced march of forty miles, made in one day. On January 10, General Wilkinson arrived at that place.

The results of the land campaign were not such as to add to the prestige of American arms, and Hampton and Wilkinson laid upon each other the blame for failure to make any substantial progress.

Early in March, 1814, Major Forsyth was sent to the border with 300 American riflemen and 60 dragoons to break up an irregular intercourse that had been carried on with the British troops during the winter. Parties under General Macomb and Colonel Clark were sent to the Vermont frontier on a similar errand, while General Wilkinson planned to erect batteries in the vicinity of Rouses Point that should command the outlet of the lake.

Alarmed by the American activity the British commander sent 600 men under Major Hancock to Lacolle, Que., and 2,000 troops were ordered to St. Johns and Isle aux Noix under Lieutenant Colonel Williams. General Wilkinson ordered the Plattsburg garrison to advance to Champlain, and Macomb and Clark were directed to join the main body of the American troops there.

On the morning of March 30 the American army, 4,000 strong, advanced for an attack upon Lacolle. Fallen trees and snowdrifts made the roads almost impassable for

artillery. Major Hancock occupied a stone mill, which had been pierced with openings for muskets. The American artillery fire was without appreciable effect. Two British sorties were defeated, but Wilkinson's attack was unsuccessful, and he retired to Odelltown, falling back the next day to Champlain. General Macomb returned to Burlington, while the main body of the army retired to Chazy and Plattsburg. The American casualties on this expedition amounted to 104 killed and wounded. The British gave their losses as 10 killed and 46 wounded.

Macdonough had chosen Vergennes as his winter quarters after careful deliberation. He needed a location protected from forays by the enemy, and accessible to abundant supplies of timber. Vergennes was situated at the head of navigation on Otter Creek, seven miles from its mouth. The stream was so narrow and crooked that a hostile fleet could not hope to make a successful attack. A direct road led to Burlington, twenty-one miles away, where a large body of American troops was stationed. Another road led to Boston, and still another to the south. Dead Creek and marshes protected Vergennes from a land attack from the west. An abundance of timber for shipbuilding was available, and iron could be obtained from the neighboring town of Monkton. The industries of Vergennes included eight forges, a blast furnace, an air furnace, a rolling mill, a wire factory, and grist, saw, and fulling mills. Before hostilities opened in 1814, one thousand 32-pound cannon balls had been cast here for the American fleet.

In an order issued January 28, Macdonough was directed to build about fifteen gunboats, or a ship, and three or four gunboats, the matter being left for him to decide. His instructions read: "The object is to leave no doubt of your commanding the lake and the waters connected, and that in due time. You are therefore

authorized to employ such means and workmen as shall render its accomplishment certain."

Mr. Browne, a New York shipbuilder, had agreed to launch a ship of 24 guns in sixty days and in the spring of the year 1814 the work of constructing several vessels was begun in earnest. In five and one-half days 110 men had cut and forwarded timber for three ships. The trees were standing in the forest on March 2. The *Saratoga's* keel was laid on March 7, and on April 11 she was launched, forty days from the time her timbers stood as growing trees on a Vermont hillside.

While the ships were being built at Vergennes, General Wilkinson was apprehensive of a British attack upon Plattsburg, Burlington and Vergennes, and on April 9 he ordered General Macomb, who was stationed at Burlington, to request Governor Chittenden to call out the Vermont militia, not only to protect the shipping on Otter Creek, but to reinforce Macomb's army. Governor Chittenden immediately complied with the request, sending 1,000 men to Vergennes and 500 to Burlington, these troops being militia from Addison, Chittenden and Franklin Counties. Wilkinson feared that the enemy would seize some of the lake craft, load them with stones, and sink them at the mouth of Otter Creek, thus bottling up Macdonough's fleet. To guard against this contingency the American naval commander erected a battery at the mouth of the stream which, at a later period, was called Fort Cassin. Between April 16 and 20 Governor Chittenden and General Wilkinson visited Macdonough at Vergennes to consider measures for the protection of the new fleet. The site for the battery was selected by Wilkinson and Macdonough. On April 22, 500 soldiers having arrived at Vergennes from Plattsburg, Governor Chittenden discharged all the Vermont militia but Capt. William C. Munson's Panton company, with orders to

turn out upon hearing the alarm signal of three heavy guns.

As early as April 2 the northern end of the lake was free from ice and on that day several British vessels anchored near Rouses Point. On May 9 Capt. Daniel Pring entered the lake with the new 16-gun brig *Linnet,* five sloops, and thirteen galleys. The next day the British fleet anchored in the shelter of Providence Island, near the southern end of South Hero. The presence of this flotilla caused the greatest excitement in all the Champlain valley. During the night of May 10 the selectmen of the lake towns worked until morning running bullets, and the militia was called out. Gen. George Izard, commanding the American forces at Plattsburg, had notified General Macomb at Burlington on May 10 of the approach of the enemy. Late that night Macomb dispatched a messenger to Vergennes and Captain Thornton, with a force of 50 light artillerymen, was sent in haste in wagons from Burlington to Vergennes to operate the battery. Macdonough had mounted seven 12-pounders on ship carriages at the mouth of Otter Creek. Lieutenant Cassin, a detachment of sailors, and a body of soldiers under Colonel Davis, were posted in a manner best calculated to prevent a landing by the enemy.

Pring's fleet appeared off Burlington on April 12, was sighted off Essex, N. Y., the afternoon of April 13, and very early on the morning of April 14 appeared off the mouth of Otter Creek. Approaching within two and one-half miles of the battery, the enemy opened fire, the engagement lasting an hour and a half. Many shells lodged in the parapet of Fort Cassin, one gun was dismounted, and two men were slightly injured. Several British galleys were damaged, and two large rowboats, shot adrift during the action, were picked up by the Americans. Strenuous efforts were made to bring several of the new

ships down the tortuous course of Otter Creek in time for use against the enemy but the foe had departed before this was effected. Pring drew his fleet off to the northward having been unable to inflict any damage upon Macdonough's flotilla.

The same afternoon three British galleys rowed up the Boquet River and demanded a quantity of flour stored in the grist mill at the falls for government use. Learning that a force of American militia was approaching the enemy retired in haste, but not soon enough to avoid an attack by a force under Lieutenant Colonel Noble, nearly all the men in the rear galley being killed or wounded. Two Americans were slightly wounded in this skirmish. The galleys having joined the remainder of the British fleet near the Four Brothers Islands, Captain Pring returned to Isle aux Noix.

There had been great difficulty in securing the necessary equipment for the American fleet. Rodney Macdonough, in his "Life of Thomas Macdonough," says: "When the *Saratoga* was launched neither her guns, anchors, cables nor rigging had been received. The roads were so bad that the heavy loading of transport wagons was impossible. It took eighty teams to carry one consignment of naval stores from Troy to Vergennes, and then three large cables were left behind. A large quantity of shot was brought from Boston." There was also a shortage of men for the vessels, and about the middle of April General Macomb sent 400 Vermont soldiers to Macdonough at Vergennes.

One of the vessels, the *Ticonderoga,* originally had been designed for a steamboat. As it was not considered wise to attempt to propel a warship by steam, she was rigged as a schooner. On May 26 Macdonough entered the lake with his flagship *Saratoga,* twenty-six guns; the schooner *Ticonderoga,* sixteen guns; the sloop *Preble,* nine guns;

and six gunboats, armed with two guns each. Afterward the fleet was augmented by the addition of the sloop *President,* ten guns; the sloop *Montgomery,* six guns; and five gunboats with one gun each. These gunboats were 75 feet long, 15 feet wide, and could be rowed by forty oarsmen.

Proceeding to Plattsburg, where Macdonough arrived May 29, he was requested to protect the transports which were removing troops and stores from Burlington to that place, General Izard having decided to encamp near the Canadian border. During the summer the American fleet guarded the mouth of the Richelieu to prevent the British ships from entering the lake.

Fearing that Macdonough's squadron was sufficiently strong to give him the mastery of the lake, the British prepared in June to build a vessel at Isle aux Noix that at least should match the *Saratoga,* and on August 25 the frigate *Confiance,* carrying thirty-seven guns, was launched.

Meanwhile the American fleet was strengthened by building another brig at Vergennes. The keel of the *Eagle* was laid on July 23, she was launched August 11, and on August 27 she joined the American fleet anchored off Chazy. Her armament consisted of twenty guns. Former Assistant Secretary of the Navy Charles H. Darling, in writing of Macdonough's fleet, has said that "the *Eagle* was substantially of the same size as Perry's flagships *Lawrence* and *Niagara* on Lake Erie, while the *Saratoga* was much superior to Perry's largest vessel. The time in which Perry built his ships has often been mentioned in praise and wonder, but Macdonough's ships were not only of larger tonnage but were built and completed in a shorter time."

A comparison between the cost of ships of war in 1814 and the cost at the present time (1909), less than a cen-

tury later, may be found of interest. It may be urged that such a comparison is of little value, owing to the fact that Macdonough's boats were built for the navigation of an inland lake, while the modern battleships are constructed to circumnavigate the globe and outride safely any ocean tempest. On this point the evidence of Ex-Secretary Darling again will be found valuable. In writing on the battle of Plattsburg, he said: "The ships of either side were not inferior in size or armament to the majority of the deep sea men-of-wars-men of the time. Macdonough's flagship and the British flagship, the *Confiance,* were each somewhat smaller than the *Constitution,* but they were larger than the *Peacock, Wasp, Hornet, Intrepid, Boxer, Enterprise, Bonne Homme Richard* and all other famous ships of the navy up to that time, save the *Constitution,* the *President,* and their class."

It will be seen by the foregoing statement that while some of the ocean-going warships of the American navy were larger than the *Saratoga,* others that sailed the high seas and played a prominent part in the War of 1812 were actually smaller than Macdonough's flagship. The figures used in this comparison were furnished by the navy department at Washington, with the exception of a part of the tonnage of Macdonough's fleet, which is taken from Theodore Roosevelt's "Naval War of 1812."

The tonnage of the *Saratoga* was 734, and of the *Eagle* 500, according to Secretary of the Navy Truman N. Newberry. The total tonnage of Macdonough's fleet was 2,244. The naval displacement of the new battleship *Vermont* is 16,000 tons, and the full load displacement is 17,680 tons, while the battleships authorized in the last naval appropriation bill (1909) are to have a displacement of 26,000 tons according to figures obtained from the Bureau of Construction and Repair, and furnished by Secretary of the Navy George von L. Meyer.

The cost of the *Saratoga* was $80 per ton, and the cost of the *Eagle* was the same. Estimating that the cost of the remainder of Macdonough's fleet was the same, the total cost of construction was $179,520. The Bureau of Naval War Records is authority for the statement that roughly estimated the cost of armament of Macdonough's squadron was $36,120, and the cost of the *Saratoga's* battery (broadsides) was $12,420. This makes the entire cost of the *Saratoga,* $71,140; and the total (estimated) cost of Macdonough's fleet, $215,640.

The cost of the new battleship *Vermont,* including armament, according to the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, was $7,563,963.39. The estimated cost of the 26,000-ton battleships just authorized by Congress is $10,250,000 each. According to these figures furnished, the cost of one battleship like the new *Vermont* exceeds the cost of 106 ships of the *Saratoga* type; and the cost of 144 *Saratogas* would be less than the estimated cost of one of the projected 26,000-ton battleships. Thirty-five entire fleets like Macdonough's could be built for the cost of one battleship *Vermont,* with money left over and between forty-seven and forty-eight such ships could be built for the price of a 26,000-ton modern battleship.

Macdonough's fleet consisted of four ships and ten smaller craft called gunboats. In modern naval warfare a fleet of four battleships surely would not be considered large; but using this number to continue the comparison, 140 fleets like that commanded by Macdonough could be built for the cost of four battleships like the *Vermont,* and 190 fleets like Macdonough's could be constructed and equipped for the price of four 26,000-ton battleships.

The difference in the time needed for the construction of a *Saratoga* and of a *Vermont* is almost as striking as the difference in cost.

CHAPTER XIV

THE BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG

DURING the early part of the year 1814 there was some skirmishing on the part of the land forces on the west side of the lake, but none on the east side. There was considerable sickness among the troops stationed at Burlington and in the General Hospital there, under the charge of Dr. James Mann, there were 170 deaths in the year 1814, March and September being the months showing the greatest mortality. On account of the sickness most of the soldiers at Burlington were removed from the Battery to a new camp in the eastern part of the town, which was established on the pine plains south of the main road to Williston, and east of Fourth Street.

On June 24 Lieutenant Colonel Forsyth, called the best partisan leader in the American army, with seventy riflemen, part of the force stationed at Plattsburg and vicinity, advanced as far as Odelltown, Que., where he was attacked by 200 British troops and retreated to Champlain, N. Y., his loss being one killed and five wounded. A few days later he crossed the boundary line again with the intention of drawing the enemy into an ambuscade. He succeeded in his purpose, but stepping upon a log to watch the movements of 150 of the Canadians and Indians under Captain Mahew, who were pursuing him, he was killed by a shot fired by an Indian. The Americans in concealment then opened fire and the British retreated in haste, leaving seventeen dead behind.

During the months of July and August work was pushed on the fortifications at Cumberland Head and

near Plattsburg village. About 4,500 men were assembled at or near Champlain.

With the strange lack of military capacity that marked so many of the movements of the American army during this war, General Izard was ordered to remove most of his troops to Sacketts Harbor, N. Y. This order was issued by the secretary of war at a time when an attack on Plattsburg was expected very soon. Izard warned the war department that a force of nearly 10,000 of the enemy was across the border at Odelltown and Chambly, and added: "I must not be responsible for the consequences of abandoning my present strong position." With great reluctance, and against his judgment, Izard left Champlain and Chazy on August 29 with 4,000 men, and proceeded to his destination by way of Lake George and Schenectady.

Immediately General Macomb, in later years commander-in-chief of the American army, concentrated at Plattsburg his force which amounted approximately to 3,400 men, but more than 1,400 of these were classed as invalids or non-combatants. He had 1,500 effective regulars and sent out a call for the aid of the New York and Vermont militia.

On the day that General Izard left Champlain and Chazy, August 29, Macomb sent a detachment to bring in certain supplies left there and withdrew to Plattsburg the garrison and heavy guns at Cumberland Head.

The day following Izard's abandonment of his camp at Champlain, on August 30, General Brisbane, with a division of the King's forces, occupied the town, and by September 3, an army variously estimated from 11,000 to 14,000 men, was assembled at this little post on the New York frontier. It was composed of infantry, artillery, light dragoons, sappers and miners, Canadian chas-

seurs and a Swiss regiment. Sir George Prevost, governor of Lower Canada, was commander-in-chief, with Lieutenant General de Rottenburgh second in command, and Major Generals Robinson, Powers, and Brisbane commanding brigades. A considerable portion of this army was made up of Wellington's seasoned veterans. Had Macomb's army been composed entirely of the best of regulars they could hardly have been expected under ordinary circumstances, successfully to meet this vastly superior force.

The main body of Prevost's army reached the village of Chazy on September 4. Macomb had made the best preparations possible for the defense of Plattsburg. The American fortifications were located on an elevated plain between Lake Champlain and the Saranac River. The defenses included Fort Brown, on the bank of the Saranac; Fort Scott, near the shore of the lake; and Fort Moreau, about midway between the river and the lake. One blockhouse and a battery were located on a point near the mouth of the river, and another blockhouse was situated about half way between the river and the lake on the south side of a deep ravine, extending from the Saranac nearly to the edge of the lake.

Col. Melancton Smith with the Sixth and Twenty-ninth regiments, held Fort Moreau; Major Vinson, with the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth regiments, garrisoned Fort Scott; while Lieutenant Colonel Storrs, with detachments of the Thirtieth and Thirty-first regiments, occupied Fort Brown; Lieutenant Fowler, with a detachment of artillery, defended the blockhouse on the point; and Captain Smith, with part of his company and a body of convalescents, was stationed in the blockhouse near the ravine.

When the British reached Chazy, Captain Sproul was sent by Macomb with 200 American soldiers and two

cannon to hold a position near Dead Creek bridge and to build an abatis across the road beyond. Lieutenant Colonel Appling with 110 riflemen and a troup of New York State cavalry under Capt. Hiram Safford and Lieut. M. M. Standish was sent out as an advance guard.

General Mooers had called out the New York militia and the Vermonters had rallied in large numbers to the appeal for aid, under command of General Strong.

On September 4, 700 militia from Essex and Clinton Counties had assembled at Plattsburg, and they were thrown out as a skirmish line, with orders to break up bridges and obstruct the road with fallen trees.

On the night of September 5 the British had advanced to Sampson's, about eight miles from Plattsburg. There the army was divided into two columns, and before daylight, on the morning of September 6, advanced on the American position, the right wing, under Generals Powers and Robinson, by the Beekmantown road, the left wing by the road over the Dead Creek bridge and the beach at the north end of Plattsburg Bay, under General Brisbane.

Major Wool with 250 men had been ordered by Macomb to advance on the Beekmantown road and support the militia. As the British approached, Wool's detachment opened fire, severely wounding Lieutenant West and twenty men. Wool fell back to Culver's Hill, four and a half miles from Plattsburg. Most of the militia fled at the first fire, and after a brief but spirited resistance Wool was compelled to fall back again, this time to Halsey's Corners, one and one-half miles from the village bridge. This action was made necessary by the overwhelming force in front and by the fact that Wool's rear was threatened by the British force on the Beekmantown road. At Culver's Hill, Lieutenant Colonel Wellington and Ensign Chapman of the British army were killed,

and Captain Westropp was severely wounded. Several Americans were also killed.

Wool was joined at Halsey's Corners about eight o'clock in the morning by Captain Leonard with two pieces of light artillery, which were placed at an angle in the road, and were masked by the troops in front. As the British columns approached, these guns were discharged three times with deadly effect, but the American force was too small to check the enemy long and Leonard retreated in haste toward Plattsburg.

Macomb ordered the outpost at Dead Creek to fall back and Colonel Appling was directed to harass the enemy's flank. Forming a junction with Wool, this band of skirmishers retreated in good order within the protection of the defenses of Plattsburg, although it is said that Colonel Appling and Captain Safford narrowly escaped capture.

The left wing of the British army was delayed somewhat by the obstructions placed in the road. As the enemy advanced to Dead Creek bridge, which was reached about ten o'clock in the forenoon, they were checked by the fire of the American gunboats at the mouth of the creek. Macdonough had taken a position in Plattsburg Bay on September 1, and was ready to cooperate with the army. When the gunboats opened fire the British artillery was brought up from the shelter of the woods and returned the fire. A high wind and rough sea made accurate fire from the gunboats exceedingly difficult. Macdonough therefore sent Lieut. Silas Duncan in a small boat to order the gunboats to retire. The fire of the British batteries was directed upon Duncan's craft, but he delivered his orders, although so severely wounded that it was necessary to amputate his right arm. For his heroic conduct on this occasion Duncan received the thanks of Congress.

When the Americans had retired across the Saranac River the planks of the lower bridge were torn up and were used to form a breastwork, a similar defense being constructed at the upper bridge. The British made several attempts to cross the river, but were repulsed. The American casualties on July 6 were forty-five men, while the British lost more than 200 in killed and wounded. General Prevost established his headquarters at Allen's farmhouse, about a mile and a quarter from the American forts, and his army was encamped on the high ground north of the village.

From July 7 to July 10 Prevost was engaged in bringing up his artillery and supplies and preparing for siege operations. One battery was erected on a hill north of Fort Brown, a second near the cemetery, a third on the edge of a steep bank above a millpond, and a fourth near the mouth of the Saranac, nor far from the lake. Three smaller batteries were erected at other points within gunshot of the American position.

Macomb's troops, meanwhile, worked night and day, strengthening their defenses. The invalids were removed to Crab Island and quartered in tents. A battery of two 6-pounders was erected, manned by convalescents. The hospital and barracks near the forts were burned and hot shot were fired into several buildings on the north side of the river, used by the British, fifteen or sixteen structures being destroyed.

During the period of preparation there were frequent skirmishes, the British being unable to cross the Saranac. The night of September 9 being dark and stormy, Captain McGlasson of the Fifteenth United States Infantry, with fifty men, crossed the river, and dividing his party into two detachments he attacked in front and rear, making a great noise, a rocket battery which more than 300 British

troops were erecting near Fort Brown. The enemy, taken completely by surprise, and supposing that a large force had attacked them, fled for their lives. The Americans spiked the guns and retreated safely without the loss of a man.

The command of the British squadron had been given to Capt. George Downie, who had been summoned from Lake Ontario, where he had commanded the ship *Montreal.* On September 3, Sapt. Daniel Pring was a flotilla of British gunboats left Isle aux Noix and proceeded as far as Isle La Motte. Here, according to his official report, he took possession and paroled the militia of the island. Then he erected a battery of three long 18-pounder guns, to protect a position "abreast of Little Chazy, where supplies for the army were to be landed." Captain Downie with the remainder of the fleet followed Pring a few days later, the flagship grounding as she came out of the Richelieu River. She was floated without injury and the ships joined the gunboats at Isle La Motte on September 8. It was necessary to wait until the morning of September 11 before the needed stores were secured. Leaving Isle La Motte at daylight on September 11, with a northeast breeze, the American fleet was sighted at Plattsburg about seven o'clock that morning.

Macdonough's force consisted of the flagship *Saratoga,* Master Commandant Thomas Macdonough, 734 tons, with a crew of 240 men, equipped with eight long 24-pound carronades, six 42-pounders, and twelve 32-pounders; the brig *Eagle,* Master Commandant Robert Henley, 500 tons, with a crew of 150 men, equipped with eight long 18-pounders and twelve 32-pounders; the schooner *Ticonderoga,* Lieut. Stephen Cassin, 350 tons, with a crew of 112 men, equipped with eight long 12-pounders, four long 18-pounders, and five 32-pounders; the sloop *Preble,*

Lieut. Charles Budd, 80 tons, with a crew of 30 men, equipped with seven long 9-pounders; six gunboats, aggregating 420 tons, with a crew of 246 men, in all, each equipped with one long 24-pounder and one 18-pound columbiad; four gunboats, aggregating 160 tons, the combined crews numbering 160 men, each equipped with one long 12-pounder. The six larger gunboats were commanded as follows: *Allen,* Sailing Master William M. Robins; *Burrows,* Sailing Master Samuel Keteltas; *Borer,* Midshipman T. A. Conover; *Nettle,* Midshipman S. L. Bresse; *Viper,* Lieut. Francis J. Mitchell; *Centipede,* Sailing Master D. V. Hazard. The commanders of the smaller gunboats were: *Ludlow,* Master's Mate John Freeborn; *Wilmer,* Sailing Master Daniel S. Stellwagon; *Alwyn,* Acting Sailing Master Bancroft; *Bullard,* Master's Mate Stephen Holland.

Thus the American fleet consisted of fourteen craft aggregating 2,244 tons, manned by 882 men, and carrying 86 guns. Roosevelt's "Naval War of 1812" is used as the authority for the number of men. Rodney Macdonough gives a smaller number, 820.

Two of Macdonough's ships were not available for the battle. The *President* had been damaged somewhat in a heavy storm a few days earlier, so as not to be fit for fighting, and both the *President* and the *Montgomery* had been used as transports to bring troops from Burlington and other lake ports to aid General Macomb.

The British squadron was made up of the frigate *Confiance,* Capt. George Downie, 1,200 tons, with a crew of 325 men, equipped with twenty-seven long 24-pounders, four 32-pound carronades, and six 24-pounders; the brig *Linnet,* Capt. Daniel Pring, 350 tons, with a crew of 125 men, equipped with sixteen long 12-pounders; the sloop *Chub,* Lieut. James McGhie, 112 tons, with a crew of 50

men, equipped with ten 18-pounders and one long 6-pounder; the sloop *Finch,* Lieut. William Hicks, 110 tons, with a crew of 50 men, equipped with six 18-pounders, four long 6-pounders, and one 18-pound columbiad; five gunboats with an aggregate tonnage of 350, the crews numbering a total of 250 men, each boat carrying two guns; and seven gunboats with an aggregate tonnage of 280, the combined crews numbering 182 men, each boat carrying one gun. The *Chub* and the *Finch* were the ships *Growler* and *Eagle* captured from Lieutenant Smith near Isle aux Noix earlier in the war, and at first christened by their British captors the *Broke* and the *Shannon.*

The British fleet was composed, therefore, of sixteen vessels, aggregating about 2,402 tons, and carrying, according to Roosevelt, approximately 937 men and 92 guns. A store sloop accompanied the fleet. The *Confiance* was equipped with a furnace for heating shot. In number of ships and men, in size of ships and in weight of armament, the advantage was with the British fleet.

Macdonough had anchored his ships in a north and south line a little to the south of the point where the Saranac River empties into the lake. The northern extremity of his line of battle was near Cumberland Head, while a shoal near the southern extremity made a flank attack in that quarter impossible. The American commander had chosen his position with great care. If the enemy entered the lake with a northerly breeze it necessitated beating against the wind to round Cumberland Head and when inside that point of land the wind was likely to be light and uncertain.

The *Eagle* was stationed at the head of the line, flanked on either side by two gunboats. The *Saratoga* came next, then three gunboats, with the *Ticonderoga* beyond. The

Preble was at the foot of the line with three more gunboats between that vessel and the *Ticonderoga.*

The larger ships were anchored with springs, while the gunboats, or galleys, under sweeps, formed a second line about forty yards in the rear of the larger craft. Ex-Secretary Darling explains the term, "anchoring with springs," by saying that Macdonough "dropped an anchor from the bow, another from the stern; he attached lines to the anchor chains and he also carried out kedge anchors to either side of the ship and in this manner by raising or letting go one anchor and pulling in on different lines he was able to turn and manoeuvre his ships."

It was about eight o'clock on Sunday morning, September 11, one of those beautiful days when summer lingers on the verge of autumn, that the American lookout boat lying at the entrance of Plattsburg Bay, reported the approach of the British ships. It was nearly nine o'clock when Downie approached and offered battle, having waited at the entrance of the bay for his gunboats to come up. Then, as the enemy advanced to the attack there was almost perfect stilness for a little space of time. During this calm before the storm of battle, the young American commander, not yet thirty-one years old, having done all that human energy and foresight could suggest to ensure victory, knelt on the deck of his flagship his officers grouped about him, and repeated the prayer appointed to be said before a fight at sea, imploring the God of battles to crown his efforts with success.

The *Eagle* opened the engagement with a broadside fired at the *Confiance,* which fell short of the mark. Waiting until the British flagship was within range, Macdonough himself sighted one of the *Saratoga's* long 24-pounders and fired, the shot ranging the length of the deck of the *Confiance,* killing and wounding several men.

Finding the American fire unexpectedly heavy Downie anchored about 300 yards from Macdonough's line. The *Linnet* and the *Chub* had been ordered to turn the northern end of the American line; and as the former ship passed the *Saratoga* she fired a broadside from her 12-pounders, the only shot that struck hitting a coop on the deck of the American flagship containing a young game cock brought on board by some of the sailors. The bird being released flew into the rigging, flapped his wings, and crowed lustily, whereupon the men of the *Saratoga* laughed and cheered, considering this episode an omen of victory.

The *Finch* and four gunboats were assigned to attack the *Preble* and the *Ticonderoga,* which were supported by four gunboats, the *Confiance, Linnet,* and *Chub* devoting their attention to the *Saratoga,* the *Eagle* and the remaining American gunboats. Captain Downie did not open fire until he had maneuvered his ship into a desirable position and made her secure. Then a terrible broadside was discharged from sixteen double-shotted 24-pounders, which made the *Saratoga* shiver from bowsprit to keel. First Lieut. Peter Gamble was killed in the act of sighting a bow gun and nearly forty of the ship's crew were killed or wounded.

The fight then became general all along the line. The *Linnet,* ignoring the attack of the American gunboats, devoted her entire attention to the Eagle, which also received part of the fire of the *Confiance.* After a time her springs were shot away, and cutting her cable, Henley ran down and took a position between the *Saratoga* and the *Ticonderoga,* and nearer the *Confiance* upon which he opened fire. The *Linnet,* having driven off the American gunboats, was able to open a broadside fire upon the *Saratoga* which now bore the brunt of the fight.

Not a sailor worked more energetically than Macdonough, who not only commanded the fleet, but sighted and handled one of the *Saratoga's* guns. While pointing a gun a shot severed the spanker boom of the ship, which fell on his head and rendered him unconscious for two or three minutes. Again he was struck by the head of a gunner, which had been shot off and was hurled across the deck, knocking him down. Twice the *Saratoga* had been set on fire by hot shot from the *Confiance*. Many of her long guns had become disabled, and finally only a single carronade remained available in her starboard battery. Presently a bolt broke and the last gun fell from its carriage down the main hatch, leaving the ship practically defenseless.

Macdonough's careful preparations now made it possible for him to turn defeat into victory. By letting go an anchor astern, cutting the bow cable, and hauling in on a hawser leading to the starboard quarter, the *Saratoga* was brought about so that one gun of the port battery could be trained on the *Confiance*. After some delay the ship finally was brought about so that her entire port battery could open upon the enemy. During this manoeuvring most of the men had been sent forward to protect them as much as possible from the raking fire of the *Linnet*.

The *Confiance* also had troubles of her own. Her first broadside discharged at the *Saratoga* was the most destructive one fired. The quoins became loosened by successive discharges of the guns, and not being properly replaced, the shots kept going higher and higher, consequently doing less and less damage. This was shown by the fact that not twenty whole hammocks were left in the nettings of the *Saratoga*. Early in the action Captain Downie, the British commander, was killed. He was

standing behind one of the guns of the *Confiance* when a shot from the *Saratoga* threw the cannon from its carriage against his right groin, causing almost instant death, although the skin was not broken where the blow was struck. The force was so great that his watch was flattened.

When the *Saratoga* had been winded about, the *Confiance* attempted to follow her example and bring her own uninjured batteries into action. She had not been provided, however, for such an emergency with the care exercised by the American commander, and hung with her head to the wind. More than half her crew had been lost, all but four of her available guns had been dismantled, her masts had been shattered, and her sails were in ribbons. Being unable to fight any more, at 11 o'clock her flag was hauled down in token of surrender, after two hours of desperate fighting.

Losing no time, the *Saratoga* was brought about still farther and her guns were trained on the *Linnet*. Captain Pring fought on gallantly, hoping that the gunboats would come to his aid and tow him out of range of the enemy's fire. No help coming, his ship being riddled, with masts and sails in a most dilapidated condition, the water being a foot above the lower deck, and learning of the death of Captain Downie, he lowered his flag at 11.20 o'clock, and surrendered. Early in the action a shot from the *Eagle* had cut the cable of the *Chub,* her bowsprit and main boom were shot away, and she drifted between the opposing fleets and struck her colors, having lost nearly half of her men in killed and wounded. One of the *Saratoga's* midshipmen, Charles Platt, took possession of the *Chub,* and she was towed in shore and anchored, becoming American property once more.

The fighting was brisk at the lower end of the battle line. About an hour after the contest opened the *Finch* of the British fleet was disabled by broadsides from the *Ticonderoga* and the *Preble,* and drifted until she ran aground near Crab Island, when some of the convalescents stationed on the island opened fire with a 6-pounder. The vessel then surrendered, nearly half her crew being killed or wounded.

The *Preble,* being hard pressed by the British gunboats, cut her cables and drifted to the shore and out of the conflict. The enemy's smaller craft then made a determined attack on the schooner *Ticonderoga,* and the fighting was desperate for a time. Again and again attempts were made to board her and although the gunboats approached within a few feet of the ship, they were driven off each time. The guns of the *Ticonderoga* were loaded with canister and bags of bullets when the fight was hottest. Many of the matches were defective, and Midshipman Hiram Paulding, a lad of only sixteen years, fired the eight guns of his division by the flash of a pistol. Lieutenant Cassin, commanding the *Ticonderoga,* exposed himself with great courage amidst the hottest fire from cannon and muskets, and directed the loading and firing of the guns. Lieutenant Bell, who commanded the British gunboats, also won praise for his gallant conduct.

At length the enemy's smaller craft were obliged to withdraw in a disabled condition. Macdonough signalled to the American gunboats to pursue but soon withdrew the order that they might aid in saving the *Confiance* and *Linnet,* which were in a sinking condition. The British gunboats then made their escape, together with a store ship which had been anchored near the point of Cumberland Head.

Thus the battle ended after an engagement lasting nearly two hours and a half, hardly a mast being left standing in either fleet. One hundred and five shot holes were counted in the hull of the *Confiance,* while the *Saratoga* was hulled fifty-five times, and the *Eagle* thirty-nine times.

Soon after the firing ceased the officers of the four principal British ships, Lieutenant Robinson of the *Confiance,* Captain Pring of the *Linnet,* Lieutenant McGhie of the *Chub,* and Lieutenant Hicks of the *Finch,* under guard proceeded to the *Saratoga,* where they tendered their swords to Macdonough, which the American commander courteously declined to accept.

Roosevelt says the American loss in killed and wounded probably was about 200, and that of the British, over 300. Other authorities report fewer casualties. Among the American officers killed were Lieut. Peter Gamble, of the *Saratoga;* Lieut. John Stansbury, of the *Ticonderoga;* and Sailing Master Rogers Carter, of the *Preble.* The British officers killed included Captain Downie, of the *Confiance,* commander of the fleet, and Midshipman William Gunn, of the same ship; Lieut. William Paul and Boatswain Charles Jackson, of the *Linnet;* and Capt. Alexander Anderson, of the Marines. Immediately after the battle the British wounded were removed to the hospital on Crab Island, where they were given the same careful attention bestowed upon the injured of Macdonough's fleet.

The battle of Plattsburg, however, was not fought entirely on the water. When the British fleet was seen rounding Cumberland Head on this memorable Sunday morning, General Prevost directed General Powers' brigade, together with a portion of General Robinson's brigade, to force the Saranac fords and attack the American forts. At the village bridge, at the upper bridge, and at the ford

near Pike's cantonment the British troops attempted to cross. At the first two places they were repulsed. At the ford, guarded by New York militia, several companies of the enemy effected a crossing and drove the Americans toward the Salmon River where a large number of Vermont troops and a company of artillery reinforced the fleeing militia. At this time news came of the defeat of the British fleet. The Americans, taking courage, rallied just as the attacking force received orders to withdraw. One British company lost its way and was surrounded by Vermont and New York militia. Captain Purchase and part of the company were killed and three lieutenants and twenty-seven men were made prisoners. The remainder of the British troops retreated in safety across the Saranac. It is related that during the land battle of September 11 Captain Safford of the Vermont militia and his men, with others, took possession of the old stone grist mill, and their firing as sharpshooters silenced the British batteries upon the bank of the lake, nearly opposite the present residence of Hon. Smith M. Weed, which is across the river from the old mill.

Prevost dismantled his batteries and started his artillery northward. The main body of the army followed and the rear guard left just before daybreak, September 12. The British abandoned great quantities of ammunition, provisions, tents, and camp equipage. The sick and wounded were also left behind. The British had passed through Beekmantown before the Americans learned of their flight. The light troops and militia were sent after them, and following as far as Chazy took a few prisoners. The roads were heavy and further pursuit was not attempted, although the last of the British army did not leave Champlain until September 24. The Vermont militia returned home September 12.

General Macomb gave the killed, wounded and missing among the regular troops as 123. The losses are said to have been small among the volunteers and militia. Lieut. George W. Runck of the Sixth regiment was the only officer killed. Estimates of the British losses vary widely, ranging from 600 killed, wounded and missing to 2,000.

The funeral of the officers of the two fleets, killed in the battle, was held on September 14 with the honors of war, the burial being near the center of the village cemetery. The sailors and the marines were buried in a common grave on Crab Island, over which the United States government has raised a monument. The prisoners who were not paroled were sent to Greenbush, N. Y., September 15, in the charge of Capt. White Youngs.

The chief reason for Prevost's hasty retreat was the loss of the British fleet. Probably he could have captured Plattsburg had he been willing to sacrifice a considerable number of his troops, but the volunteers from all the surrounding country were rallying in great numbers as they did at the time of Burgoyne's invasion. The same Governor Chittenden, of Vermont, who had attempted, earlier in the war, to recall the Vermont militia from the State of New York, now that there was actual danger, had issued a patriotic address calling on the men of his State to rally to the defense of Plattsburg. Although asked to raise only 2,000 men, Vermont had sent voluntarily 2,500 soldiers. In New York State General Mooers had called for the militia of Warren and Washington Counties, and the response was a force greater by 250 men than the largest number ever assembled for a review with all the allurement of "training day" in time of peace. The longer the British army remained, a constant menace to New England and eastern New York, the greater would be the militia force that would rally to oppose the progress of the

invaders. Prevost realized that without the aid of the fleet he was in great danger of being surrounded, having his supplies cut off and the alternatives that would remain were desperate fighting or surrender. Less proud and more prudent than Burgoyne, he chose the wiser course, retreated, and saved his army.

Almost immediately after the naval battle Macdonough sent to Hon. William Jones, secretary of the navy, the following modest message announcing his victory: "The Almighty has been pleased to grant us a signal victory on Lake Champlain in the capture of one frigate, one brig and two sloops of war of the enemy." Two days later he sent Lieutenant Cassin to Washington with the captured battle flags.

Congress ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to Macdonough, thanked him for his "decisive and splendid victory," and he was promoted from the rank of master commandant to that of captain to date from September 11. The Vermont legislature adopted a resolution thanking him for his "unrivalled bravery and important services in the conquest of a superior force on the 11th of September, 1814, which protected the soil of freedom, gained the applause of millions and merited universal respect and admiration." Vermont also bought one hundred acres of land on Cumberland Head near the place where the naval victory was won, and presented it to the American commander as a token of esteem more substantial than resolutions of thanks. The State of New York granted him one thousand acres of land in Sterling township, Cayuga County, while Delaware voted him a costly sword and a silver service. Delaware and the city of New York asked him to sit for his portrait. Albany gave him the freedom of the city in a gold casket and a lot of land on Washington Square. Connecticut presented him

with a pair of gold mounted pistols, and the city of Lansingburgh, N. Y., gave him a silver pitcher and goblets Many congratulatory messages were received by Macdonough, among them being one from the secretary of the navy, who said, in part: "Our lakes, hitherto the objects only of natural curiosity, shall fill the pages of future history with the bright annals of our country's fame and the imperishable renown of our naval heroes."

Gold medals were presented to Master Commandant Robert Henley and Lieut. Stephen Cassin, silver medals to the nearest male relatives of Lieut. Peter Gamble and Lieut. John Stansbury, killed in the battle, and to the other commissioned officers of the navy and army serving in the fleet during the engagement, and a sword to each of the midshipmen and sailing masters. Three months' extra pay was allowed to the petty officers, seamen, marines, and infantry serving on shipboard.

The citizens of Plattsburg gave a dinner in Macdonough's honor on September 23, which was attended by General Macomb and the officers of the army and navy. With characteristic generosity, when called upon, the guest of honor proposed the toast—"The memory of Commodore Downie, our brave enemy." On September 26 Burlington celebrated the victory with a procession, a religious service conducted by Rev. Daniel Haskell, of Burlington, and Rev. Mr. Sawyer, of Dover, Mass., and a dinner. Macdonough, General Macomb, General Strong and other officers were present. The day closed with an illumination of the village and a grand ball.

Theodore Roosevelt says that the victory at Plattsburg "had a very great effect on the negotiations for peace," and adds: "Macdonough in this battle won a higher fame than any other commander of the war, British or American. He had a decidedly superior force to contend against,

the officers and men of the two sides being about on a par in every respect; and it was solely owing to his foresight and resource that we won the victory. He forced the British to engage at a disadvantage by his excellent choice of position; and he prepared beforehand for every possible contingency. His personal prowess had already been shown at the cost of the rovers of Tripoli; and in this action he helped fight the guns as ably as the best sailor. His skill, seamanship, quick eye, readiness of resource, and indomitable pluck, are beyond all praise. Down to the time of the Civil War he is the greatest figure in our naval history. A thoroughly religious man, he was as generous and humane as he was skilful and brave; one of the greatest of our sea captains, he has left a stainless name behind him." Again Roosevelt says: "Captain Perry's name is more widely known than that of any other commander. Every schoolboy reads about him, if of no other sea captain, yet he certainly stands in a lower grade than Macdonough."

Writing to Secretary of the Navy Jones two days after the battle of Plattsburg, Macdonough asked permission to leave the lake and to be assigned to a position under the command of Commodore Decatur at New York, adding: "My health (being some time on the lake), together with the almost certain inactivity of future naval operations here, are among the causes for this request of my removal." The favor asked was not granted and he remained on Lake Champlain for several months.

The fleet remained in Plattsburg Bay for some time. Repairs on Macdonough's vessels and on the captured ships were necessary and the mouth of the Richelieu River was closely guarded to prevent any return of the British gunboats. On October 2 the *Saratoga, Confiance, Ticonderoga* and *Linnet* left Plattsburg for Whitehall. As the

Saratoga passed Burlington she fired a salute, "the last gun, probably, that she ever fired" says Rodney Macdonough. Late in October Macdonough went to Whitehall and made arrangements for laying up the ships there. The wounded were removed from Crab Island to Burlington in charge of Surgeon William Caton, Jr. Late in the year 1814 a British transport sloop loaded with ammunition and stores, which had been sunk off Isle La Motte, was raised.

On November 1 Macdonough turned over to Lieut. Charles A. Budd the command of the squadron. He remained at Whitehall on board the *Confiance,* however, for several weeks, leaving early in December for his home at Middletown, Conn.

The battle of Plattsburg ended the war in the Champlain valley. Rumors of another British invasion, however, kept the people in this region in a state of anxiety for many months. Although peace was declared in December, 1814, several regiments were kept at Burlington during the greater part of the year 1815. During the latter part of the year 1814 General Strong, of Vermont, and General Mooers, of New York, ordered their respective forces to hold themselves in readiness for service. General Macomb was kept at Plattsburg, where he caused two redoubts, Forts Tompkins and Gaines, to be thrown up, a little to the south of Fort Moreau.

With the opening of the year 1815, news not having arrived of the signing of the treaty of Ghent, Governor Tompkins, of New York, became alarmed at reports of a British attack on Whitehall by way of Lake Champlain. As a result he wrote Macdonough suggesting that he and the famous naval commander consult with the Governor of Vermont regarding the safety of the American fleet. Finally the authorities at Washington became apprehen-

sive, and Macdonough was ordered to Lake Champlain to report on the situation. He conferred with Lieutenant Budd, visited Burlington and Plattsburg, and on February 1, 1815, reported to the secretary of the navy that the enemy were making no preparations that indicated an attack upon the American fleet. He returned to Burlington February 3, and on February 4 went to Whitehall, where he remained until the end of the war. During the summer of 1820 Macdonough visited Vermont and the scene of his great naval victory at Plattsburg, being welcomed with great cordiality.

With the close of the War of 1812 the record of battles on Lake Champlain, covering more than two centuries, ended, it may be hoped, forever. The lake was still considered a place of strategic importance, however, and in 1816 a fortification was begun at Rouses Point, N. Y., which was called in derision "Fort Blunder." After the work of construction had been begun it was discovered that the site of the fort was on Canadian soil. In 1842, by the terms of the Webster-Ashburton treaty, a narrow strip of land at this place was ceded to the United States, the line being drawn 4,200 feet north of the true, parallel of 45 degrees latitude, supposed to be the actual boundary.

In 1843 the building of Fort Montgomery was begun. At the outbreak of the Mexican War work was suspended. At the close of hostilities construction was resumed and continued at intervals until 1870, when it was abandoned. In appearance the fort was a formidable looking stone structure, being entirely surrounded by water, and connected with the mainland by a drawbridge about twenty feet long. No garrison was ever stationed in the fort, an ordnance sergeant and an engineer watchman constituting the only occupants.

In the spring of 1908 the fort was entirely dismantled, the guns being given to various towns and cities upon request. The fort remains, a picturesque object on the frontier, and a reminder of the importance in earlier days attached to the control of Lake Champlain.

On August 2, 1817, the United States government intimated to Great Britain a desire for a mutual reduction of the naval forces on the American lakes. As a result an agreement was entered into by Acting Secretary of State Richard Rush and the British minister, Charles Bagot, proclamation being made by the President on April 28, 1818. It provided that the naval force maintained thereafter on Lake Champlain by the governments of Great Britain and the United States should consist of one vessel each, not exceeding 100 tons burden, armed with one 18-pound cannon. No other war vessels were to be built or armed on the lake. Provision was made that this agreement might be annulled upon six months' notice given by either party. With the passing of Macdonough's ships war craft on Lake Champlain became only a memory.



LAKE CHAMPLAIN FROM BATTERY PARK, BURLINGTON, VT.

CHAPTER XV

NAVIGATION ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN

WHEN Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist, visited the Champlain valley in 1749, he travelled from Fort Frederic to St. Johns in a sailing craft called a yacht, which made regular trips between the two places, and was said to be the first sailing vessel built on Lake Champlain.

Until the close of the Revolutionary War, transportation on the lake was largely a matter of military expeditions, including their equipment and sustenance. Differing in most respects in method, in reality it was still the same kind of traffic that had been carried on in this valley for unnumbered centuries before the white men came; and it all spelled War.

With the declaration of peace, and the great influx of settlers into the valley the business of lake transportation immediately became an important one. With no railroads, few highways, and those little more than bridle paths, Lake Champlain offered a natural and easy route to all the region drained by this body of water and its tributary streams. Settlers came in boats in summer and drove with teams over the smooth surface of the ice in winter, seeking homes in the new country.

In 1788, Benjamin Boardman, a sea captain, who had been engaged in the coasting trade in the southern Atlantic region, and had made trips to the West Indies, with shrewd foresight saw that boats would be needed on a navigable body of water as large as Lake Champlain. Accordingly he came from Norwich, Conn., and settled on the Winooski River intervale, bringing with him a New London boat builder named Wilcox.

During the same year, 1788, Gideon King came to Burlington from the Shaker settlement at New Lebanon, and erected a house near the lake, King Street, in that city, being named in his honor. He was an active business man, and with Job Boynton soon built two small cutters of about eight tons burden, which plied between Burlington, Essex, and Plattsburg. In 1790 King and Boynton obtained possession of two heavy schooners, which had been used for war purposes, and these were run between Burlington and St. Johns, one boat being fitted for carrying horses. Later King was John Jacob Astor's agent to look after the fur trade in this part of the country. Owing to his activity in building and operating boats he was called "the admiral of the lake."

In 1790 Boardman and Wilcox built a sloop of thirty tons burden on the Winooski River, modelled after the New London type, which was greatly superior to any craft on the lake. After mills and a forge had been erected at Winooski this boat was used in carrying provisions to Plattsburg. In the spring of 1793 the *Dolphin* was built for King and the *Burlington Packet* for Boynton, both vessels of about twenty-five tons burden, which were constructed at the foot of King Street, Burlington.

In 1795 a 30-ton sloop known as the *Lady Washington* was built at the same yard by Russell Jones. Notwithstanding her patriotic name it is said that the vessel had a false bulkhead, and became notorious as a smuggling craft. Another vessel about the size of the *Lady Washington* was built at Burlington in 1793 by Caleb B. Smith, a daring navigator. In 1797 the 30-ton sloop *Maria* was built at Burlington for Gideon King by Richard Fittock.

There were no wharves at Burlington at that time, and it was possible for some vessels to enter the Cove and make fast to trees on the shore. Some cargoes were

thrown overboard from vessels too heavily laden to come within several rods of the beach, and floated ashore, Fittock owned a scow called the *Old Lion* which was used as a lighter to bring ashore goods that needed to be handled more carefully than pork, beef, or liquors. He also kept a tavern in Burlington, and being a thrifty man, desirous of wining the custom of "all sorts and conditions of men," he placed over the door of his inn a sign, on one side of which was painted a portrait of Lord Nelson, the British naval hero, while on the other side was a picture of George Washington, "the Father of His Country." Thus the landlord aimed to attract both loyalists and friends of the government. Capt. Moses Eggleston was also a prominent boat builder, but until the War of 1812 the lake traffic was largely controlled by Gideon King.

It is said of King that during the period from 1790 to 1815 he furnished business for the greater part of the lake craft; and although many of them originally were built for others, he advanced money for their construction, and sooner or later they came into his hands in whole or in part, practically giving him control of water transportation.

Other sailing vessels built during this period are given in the table on page 260, compiled by the late Thomas H. Canfield, of Burlington.

During the War of 1812 the *Saucy Fox* sailed under the Spanish flag as a neutral vessel and was engaged in the fur trade.

The principal captains and navigators of this early period were: Gideon King, Caleb B. Smith, Elijah Boynton, H. N. White, Daniel Davis, John Price, Russell Jones, Almas Truman, of Burlington; Robert White, Andrew White, and Lavater White, of Shelburne; Caleb Barton, Ephraim Lake, Elijah Newell, Levi Hinkley, of

Names	*Owners*	*Where Built*	*Master Builder*	*Tonnage*	*Year Built*
Name unknown	Gideon King	Burlington, Vt.	Fittock	30	1800
Union	Job Boynton	Burlington, Vt.	Fittock	30	1800
Elizabeth	Daniel Rose	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	40	1800
Jupiter	G. King	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	40	1802
Juno	G. King	Essex, N. Y.	Wilcox	40	1802
Unetta	E. Boynton	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	30	1803
Independence	S. Boardman	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	35	1805
Privateer	G. King	Burlington, Vt.	Wilcox	40	1807
Hunter	G. King	Burlington, Vt.	Wilcox	50	1809
Emperor	H. and A. Ferris	Barber's Point, ??	Young	50	1810
Rising Sun	E. Boynton	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	50	1810
Eagle	S. Boardman	Whitehall, N. Y.	Eggleston	60	1810
Essex	G. King	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	50	1810
Boston	G. King	Burlington, Vt.	Wilcox	30	1810
Saucy Fox	G. King	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	50	1810
Gold Hunter	E. Boynton	Whitehall, N. Y.	Young	50	1811
President	J. Boynton	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	75	1812
Fair Trader	J. Boynton	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	75	1812
Morning Star	S. Boardman	Whitehall, N. Y.	Eggleston	50	1812
Jacob Bunker	Haswell E. Chittenden	Burlington, Vt.		65	1812
Richard	G. King	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	60	1813
Leopard	J. Boynton	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	50	1813
Boxer	G. King	Essex, N. Y.	Eggleston	50	1813
Paragon	G. King	Burlington, Vt.	Eggleston	75	1814

Charlotte; Joseph Treat, of Bridport; Eben Holabird, Reuben Holabird, of Georgia; Hiram Ferris, of Chazy, N. Y.

The military operations in the northern part of the lake during the War of 1812 stimulated business with Troy, Lansingburgh, and Albany, and a shipyard was established at Whitehall, N. Y. Between Whitehall and Troy merchandise was carried by teams.

The year 1808 was made notable in the history of navigation on Lake Champlain by the building at Burlington of the world's second successful steamboat. The builders were James and John Winans and J. Lough and she was called the *Vermont*. This boat was built only a year after Fulton's *Clermont* was first operated on the Hudson River. The *Vermont* was launched sidewise, was stuck in the sand, and it was some time before the boat was floated. She was 120 feet long, 20 feet wide and of 167 tons burden. Fulton's *Clermont* was 100 feet long, 12 feet wide, and of 160 tons burden.

There was only one room below the *Vermont's* deck, twenty-five by eighteen feet in size, fitted with berths along the side. A second hand engine of twenty horsepower furnished the means of locomotion, and travel by this craft was very uncertain, owing to numerous breakdowns. The first regular trip was made in June, 1809. The *Vermont* was scheduled to make the trip from Whitehall to St. Johns in twenty-four hours, but the round trip usually consumed nearly a week. In moderate weather the *Vermont* could make five miles an hour, but with a stormy wind "Admiral" King's sloops could pass her easily. Naturally there was a strong rivalry between the sailing vessels and the new steamer, and much ridicule for the frequent accidents suffered by the Winans' boat.

In October, 1815, the connecting rod became detached from the crank and was forced through the bottom of the *Vermont,* causing her to sink near Bloody Island, a few miles south of Isle aux Noix, in the Richelieu River. Satisfied that there was a future for steam navigation such active business men as Cornelius P. Van Ness, Moses and Guy Catlin, of Burlington, and Amos W. Barnum of Vergennes, determined to establish a steamboat line on the lake. Enlisting the aid of Teunis Van Vechten, Abram G. Lansing, Isaiah and John Townsend, J. Ellis Winne, Samuel T. Lansing, and Joseph Alexander, of Albany, N. Y., a charter for the Lake Champlain Steamboat Company was procured from the New York Legislature March 12, 1813, the capital stock being $100,000. Work was begun on the company's first boat during the winter of 1813-14, but the hull was only fairly started at Vergennes when Thomas Macdonough appeared on the scene with an urgent errand, the building of a fleet of warships. As a result of his visit the proposed steamboat did not turn out that kind of a craft at all, but became the war schooner *Ticonderoga* of glorious memory.

Late that year, 1814, the new company laid the keel of another steamboat, the *Phoenix,* under the supervision of Capt. Jehaziel Sherman, of Albany, N. Y. He brought an engine and boiler from the Hudson River steamer *Perseverance.* Fulton and Livingston had been granted the exclusive privilege of navigating steam craft on the Hudson, and this shut out the *Perseverance* and the *Hope* owned by a rival company. The owners became interested in the Lake Champlain traffic seeing there with the eye of faith the possibility of a wider field for the exercise of the virtues of perseverance and hope than on the Hudson. The *Phoenix* was launched in 1815 and began regu-

lar trips that year between Whitehall and St. Johns, under the command of Captain Sherman.

The boat was 146 feet long, 27 feet wide, 9¼ feet deep, and was run by an engine of 45 horsepower. A canvas awning was stretched over the main deck. Below there were cabins for ladies and gentlemen, handsomely furnished, and in the charge of Sion E. Howard, later a prominent business man of Burlington, as steward. The boat was also provided with a small state room, a sitting room, a smoking room, a barber shop, a kitchen and a pantry, a captain's office and a baggage room. The deck was not fitted up for the use of passengers. The fare for the trip from Whitehall to St. Johns, including meals, was $10.

About one o'clock on the morning of September 5, 1819, while between Colchester Point and Providence Island, the *Phoenix* was discovered to be on fire. The regular captain, Jehaziel Sherman, had been kept at home by illness, and his son, Richard W. Sherman, then a young man, was in command. The passengers were aroused and two boats put off, eleven persons being left on board. Benches, boards and tables were thrown overboard in the hope of saving the lives of those who had remained on the burning steamer, but six persons, including one woman and a boy twelve years old, were drowned, not being able to swim. Captain Sherman was the last person to leave the *Phoenix*. Most of the survivors landed on Providence Island, a few finding refuge on Colchester Point.

Among the passengers was John Howard, who was on his way to Montreal as a messenger from the Bank of Burlington with a bag containing $8,000. His son was the steward on the *Phoenix*. The younger Howard was one of two men to row a boat load of passengers to Providence Island, and took the money with him. Considering

it his duty to return for the other survivors, he left the money with some of the passengers and on his return it could not be found. In the confusion it had been stolen. One man was missing. He was pursued to Grand Isle, and overtaken on his way to Plattsburg, by Sion E. Howard. The thief drew two large knives and showed fight but finally surrendered the money.

In 1815 the Vermont Legislature granted to the Lake Champlain Steamboat Company the exclusive privilege of navigating steam vessels on Lake Champlain for a period of twenty-three years, a penalty of $500 being fixed for each violation of this act. Later the federal courts declared such laws unconstitutional.

During the winter of 1815-16 a steamer called the *Champlain* was built under the direction of Capt. George Brush, who commanded the vessel. The engine and boilers of the old *Vermont* were used and the boat was able to make about four miles an hour. About a year later the engine of the *Phoenix* was transferred to the *Champlain,* which increased her speed to six miles an hour, a new engine being installed in the *Phoenix* which gave her a speed of eight miles an hour. In 1817 the *Champlain* made two trips a week between Whitehall and St. Johns, but early in the season she was burned to the water's edge while lying at her dock at Whitehall.

In 1818 a new steamboat called the *Congress* was built at Vergennes by Captain Sherman, Amos W. Barnum, of Vergennes, Guy Catlin, of Burlington, and Teunis Van Vechten, of Albany. The engine and boilers of the *Champlain* were used. Capt. Daniel Davis commanded her for about two years, and for a time the *Congress* was the only steamboat on the lake. In 1820 Capt. R. W. Sherman took command. During the winter of 1819-20 the Champlain Steamboat Company built another boat

called the *Phoenix,* the engine built for the first *Phoenix* being used. Capt Jehaziel Sherman commanded and it was claimed that the new *Phoenix* was the fastest steamboat in the world. The *Congress* and the *Phoenix* made three trips a week between Whitehall and St. Johns, the fare one way being $6.

As the Otter Creek was closed by ice early in the season it was determined in 1820 to remove the shipyards of the Champlain Steamboat Company from Vergennes to Shelburne harbor, where several acres of land were purchased, and wharves, shops, ways, storehouses, and mills were built.

Early in this century the construction of the Champlain Canal introduced a new factor in lake navigation. The Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company in 1792 secured a charter for the construction of a canal between Lake Champlain and the Hudson River, and more than $100,000 was spent, although no real progress was made. In a report of the New York Canal Commission, made March 19, 1817, reference was made to the desirability of a Champlain Canal and the lumber and iron resources of the region and the great deposits of Vermont marble were cited as arguments for the construction of such a waterway. A preliminary survey was made and on April 15, 1817 a bill authorizing the construction of the Champlain Canal was passed by the New York Legislature, work being begun the same year. Whitehall, at the head of Lake Champlain, and Waterford, on the Hudson River, were the terminal points. The canal was opened for traffic October 8, 1823. The canal boat *Gleaner,* a craft built in St. Albans, owned by Julius Hoyt, N. W. Kingman, and John Taylor, of that town, commanded by Capt. William Burton, and carrying a cargo of wheat and potash, was the first boat to pass through the new water-

way. The *Gleaner* was compelled to wait at Waterford a few days for the completion of the locks into the Hudson. The boat was accompanied to Troy by a procession of gaily dressed boats, and on her arrival at Troy she was met by a large crowd of people and greeted with a salute of artillery. Two of the proprietors, Mr. Hoyt and Mr. Kingman, were passengers on the *Gleaner* and they were escorted by a procession with music to the Troy House, where a public dinner was given in their honor. The boat was greeted at Albany, Poughkeepsie, and other large river towns, and at New York City exercises similar to those at Troy, but on a larger scale, were held in honor of the opening of the canal. A New York poet was inspired to write a song on this occasion in which the St. Albans boat was called "the Barque of the Mountains."

In 1822 Asa Eddy came to Whitehall and established a line of canal boats when the route was opened, which he continued to operate until 1831, selling the business at that time to Peter Comstock, who owned two or three boats prior to this purchase. Comstock formed a partnership with Barney and Martin of Whitehall, which was the beginning of the Northern Transportation line. In 1840 the business was sold to James H. Hooker, of Troy. Asa and Hiram Eddy organized the Northern line in 1834, selling to Eddy, Bascom & Company. In 1842 this line of boats was sold to the Whitehall firm of Travis, Eddy & Company, which established the Six Day line, no boats being run on Sunday.

Improvements now (1909) under way on the Champlain Canal will canalize the Hudson River from Waterford to Fort Edward, and will enlarge and deepen the old waterway extending from the Hudson to Whitehall so that the prism of the canal will be 12 feet deep, 75 feet wide at the bottom, with locks 328 feet long and 45 feet

wide, 11 feet of water over the mitre sills, admitting the passage of boats drawing from 10 to 10½ feet of water, and carrying from 1,000 to 1,500 tons of freight. The expense of these improvements will be approximately $7,000,000.

The construction of the Chambly Canal, in Canada, around the rapids of the Richelieu River, between Chambly Basin and St. Johns, was begun in 1831, suspended in 1835, resumed in 1840, and completed in 1843. The length of the canal is twelve miles. The waterway was made originally for a draught of 4½ feet, but by dredging and raising the height of the lock gates, the draught was increased to 6½ feet, there being 7 feet of water on the sills. The breadth of the canal at the bottom is 36 feet, and at the surface, 60 feet. At St. Ours, fourteen miles south of Sorel, the Richelieu is divided into two channels and a canal one-eighth of a mile long has been constructed to permit navigation, the draught being the same as that of the Chambly Canal. These canals and the Richelieu River form part of the Champlain water route between the St. Lawrence River and the Hudson River.

The twenty years between 1825 and 1845 are said to have been the palmy days of sailing craft on the lake. Among the best known sloops and schooners were the *Daniel Webster,* the *Henry Clay,* the *Montgomery,* the *General Scott,* the *Lafayette,* the *Hercules,* the *Billow,* and the *Water Witch.* Captains Allen, Bush, Chamberlain, Price, Stoughton, and Tisdale were among the most famous sailing masters of this period.

Owing to delay in the shipment of dairy products and other goods, due in part to trans-shipments at Whitehall and Troy, Messrs. Follett and Bradley, of Burlington, in 1841, established the Merchants' line of high grade canal boats, sloop rigged, and able to stand heavy seas. At

Whitehall the rigging of these boats was taken out to enable them to pass through the canal, and they were towed down the Hudson to New York. Three or four days were saved by shippers by this line. A large patronage was secured and twenty or more boats were employed. Judge Follett retired in 1847 to become president of the Rutland and Burlington Railroad Company. The business of the Merchants' line was continued by Messrs. Bradley and Canfield, of Burlington, and Nichols, Barton and Chittenden, of St. Albans. Later it passed into the hands of Thomas H. Canfield, of Burlington.

The New York and Canada line, established by Smith and Wilkins, of Burlington, also conducted a successful business. With the opening of the Rutland and Burlington and Vermont Central Railroads, about 1853-54, much of the traffic was diverted to land routes, and the Merchants' line was discontinued.

To resume the subject of steam navigation, the Vermont Legislature of 1824 chartered the Champlain Ferry Company, granting permission to operate boats between Burlington and Port Kent. Burlington men were large stockholders, and Samuel Hickok, of that village, was the president. In July, 1825, the company opened the ferry with the steamer *General Greene,* a boat of 160 tons, propelled by a 30-horsepower engine. Capt. Dan Lyon was the commander. A few years later the steamer was converted into a sloop. A new steamer, the *Winooski,* was put in service on the ferry and the route was extended to St. Albans Bay.

In 1821 a charter was granted to Charles McNeil, of Charlotte, and H. H. Ross, of Essex, N. Y., for a ferry between those towns, the distance being about three miles. At first the ferry was operated by means of an endless cable, six horses furnishing the motive power. In 1827

this company built the steamer *Washington,* but the cost of operation was too great to be profitable, and the boat was sold, being used at first for towing purposes and later being transferred to the Champlain Transportation Company. In 1848 this ferry company built the steamer *Bouquet,* but when the railroads began to divert the lake traffic to the land routes, the boat was sold to persons in Canada.

Late in the year 1826 a charter was granted by the Vermont Legislature to Lawrence Brainerd, Julius Hoyt, William O. Gadcomb, N. W. Kingman, Noah B. Wells, Orange Ferris, George Green, Daniel Stevens, Jr., and Joshua Doane, under the name of the St. Albans Steamboat Company. N. W. Kingman was president and L. L. Dutcher was clerk. In 1828 Charles Lampson built the steamer *Macdonough* for the company and Capt. William Burton was made commander of the boat. This steamer plied between St. Albans Bay and Plattsburg, connecting at the latter place with the through boats. In 1835 the boat and the company's franchise were sold to the Champlain Transportation Company.

In 1826 Ezra Meech, Martin Chittenden, Luther Loomis, Roswell Butler, Eleazer H. Deming, and Stephen S. Keyes secured a Vermont charter for the Champlain Transportation Company. The first board of directors consisted of William A. Griswold, Samuel Hickok, Luther Loomis, James Dean, Jehaziel Sherman, Asa Eddy, Lawrence Brainerd, Peter Doolittle, and N. W. Kingman. Later the board was enlarged by the addition of Timothy Follett, John Peck, Sion E. Howard, George Moore, Andrew Thompson, Heman Cady, and Henry H. Ross. William A. Griswold was elected president and Philo Doolittle clerk and treasurer.

In 1827 the steamer *Franklin* was built at St. Albans Bay for this company, Capt. Jehaziel Sherman superintending the work. This boat was very well equipped for that period, having an upper deck, and a ladies' cabin on the main deck. The fare between Whitehall and St. Johns was reduced to $5. Capt. Jehaziel Sherman commanded the *Franklin* during the short season of 1827, and then retired, being succeeded by Capt. Richard W. Sherman, his son. In 1832 Capt. Jehaziel Sherman built a small steamboat at Fort Cassin called the *Water Witch* which plied between Whitehall and Vergennes. Later the boat was converted into a schooner and continued in service until about 1880. With more steamboats on the lake than the business of the region demanded, the Lake Champlain Steamboat Company became somewhat embarrassed, sold its property in 1830 to Isiah Townsend, and in 1833 was consolidated with the Champlain Transportation Company. In 1835 this corporation purchased the *Water Witch,* the property and rights of the Champlain Ferry Company, and that of the St. Albans Steamboat Company. This left the company without a rival on the lake. The *Franklin* under Captain Sherman, and the *Phoenix* under Captain Lyon, ran between Whitehall and St. Johns while the *Winooski,* commanded by Captain Flack, plied between Plattsburg and St. Albans.

Soon after this consolidation Peter Comstock began the construction of a steamboat at Whitehall, which the Champlain Transportation Company bought to avoid competition, Comstock pledging not to build another boat for eight years, or to oppose the company. The steamer was completed in 1838 and was named the *Whitehall.* As the boats of the company were becoming old another was built at Shelburne harbor, called the *Burlington,* which was completed in 1837. She was 190 feet long, 25 feet

wide, 9 feet deep, and had a speed of fifteen miles an hour. Both the *Burlington* and the *Whitehall* were excellent boats, Capt. R. W. Sherman commanding the former, and Capt. Dan Lyon, the latter. In 1841 the *Saranac* was built to take the place of the *Winooski* plying between St. Albans and Burlington.

In passing it should be said that Capt. Richard W. Sherman, the maternal grandfather of Vice-President James S. Sherman, was one of the most famous of all the captains who have sailed upon Lake Champlain. President Martin Van Buren, often one of his passengers, said of him: "He imagines that all of the world is the deck of a ship, and he the captain." In 1842 Charles Dickens, while making his American tour, passed through Lake Champlain. Although his criticisms of America and Americans were considered very harsh at the time, and were deeply resented in this country, yet his praise of Captain Sherman and the steamboat *Burlington* was expressed in a wealth of superlatives. In his "American Notes" the famous novelist said: "There is one American boat—the vessel which carried us on Lake Champlain from St. Johns to Whitehall—which I praise very highly, but no more than it deserves, when I say that it is superior even to that on which we went from Queenston to Toronto or to that on which we travelled from the latter place to Kingston, or I have no doubt I may add, to any other in the world. This steamboat, which is called the *Burlington,* is a perfectly exquisite achievement of neatness, elegance, and order. The decks are drawing rooms; the cabins are boudoirs, choicely furnished and adorned with prints, pictures, and musical instruments; every nook and corner of the vessel is a perfect curiosity of graceful comfort and beautiful contrivance. Captain Sherman, her commander, to whose ingenuity and excellent taste these

results are solely attributable, has bravely and worthily distinguished himself on more than one trying occasion; not least among them in having the moral courage to carry British troops at a time (during the Canadian rebellion) when no other conveyance was open to them. He and his vessel are held in universal respect, both by his own countrymen and ours; and no man ever enjoyed the popular esteem, who, in his sphere of action, won and wore it better than this gentleman.

"By means of this floating palace we were soon in the United States again, and called that evening at Burlington, a pretty town, where we lay an hour or so. We reached Whitehall, where we were to disembark, at six next morning; and might have done so earlier, but that these steamboats lie by for some hours in the night, in consequence of the lake becoming very narrow at that part of the journey, and difficult of navigation in the dark. Its width is so contracted at one point, indeed, that they are obliged to warp round by means of a rope."

The Champlain Transportation Company was not long without a rival, a charter being obtained from the New York Legislature for the New York and Champlain Steamboat Company. Negotiations, however, were successful in arranging a consolidation of the new company with the old, and the fare through the lake was reduced to $3, with extra charge for meals and state rooms. As soon as the bargain was made for consolidation of the rival lines, Peter Comstock began building another boat at Whitehall, which he called the *Francis Saltus*, better known as the *Saltus*. The Champlain Transportation Company determined not to attempt to buy off or buy out any more rivals, and fitted up the *Saranac* as a competitor. In 1845 the *Saltus* began her trips with H. G. Tisdale as captain, the *Saranac* being commanded by Capt. P. T.

Davis. Both steamers ran as day boats, and being scheduled to leave Whitehall at the same time naturally there was a keen rivalry. Stories are told of throwing pitch pine, barrels of tar, and other inflammable materials into the furnaces of these steamboats in order to gain an advantage, sacrificing safety to speed. The passengers entered into these contests with great ardor, cheering wildly when their own boat led. Sometimes the *Saranac* won and at other times victory rested with the *Saltus,* the latter boat being considered, on the whole, the faster of the two.

The Champlain Transportation Company, being on a better financial basis than its competitor, and having two night boats on the line which charged regular fare, was able to cut rates on the *Saranac* to fifty cents, and at times even as low as twenty-five cents. Comstock laid the keel for a new boat, the *Montreal,* but becoming financially embarrassed he transferred the *Saltus* to persons in Troy. By a natural process the *Saltus* and the *Montreal,* in March, 1848, passed into the hands of the Champlain Transportation Company. The *Montreal* was burned in Maquam Bay in 1879.

This company in 1847 launched another steamer, the *United States,* which was built at Shelburne by William Capes and Son, of New York. The boat was 240 feet long, 28½ feet wide, 9 feet deep, with 250-horsepower engines, a tonnage of 648, and cost $75,000. Her speed was nineteen miles an hour, while fifteen miles an hour was the best previous record. It is asserted that had Capes been allowed to carry out his original designs a speed even greater than this would have been developed. This was the first boat on these waters to be equipped with staterooms on the upper deck. Capt. P. T. Davis was the

commander, and regular trips were begun in August, 1847, the *United States* displacing the *Saranac*.

In 1846 the Northern Transportation line built the *James H. Hooker* for freight and towing purposes. This boat was 136 feet long, 23 feet wide, and 7 feet deep. In 1847 the Vermont Legislature granted a charter for a steam towboat company. The principal stockholders were John Bradley & Company, of Burlington, Nichols, Burton & Company, of St. Albans, and Charles F. Hammond, of Crown Point. This company controlled most of the through canal boats. A powerful boat for towing and freight purposes, called the *Ethan Allen,* was built at Shelburne harbor, in 1847, at a cost of $36,000. After running between Whitehall and Rouses Point for two years the boat was sold to the Vermont Central Railroad Company for the transportation of passengers and freight between Alburgh and Rouses Point. After the bridge connecting those two points was built, the boat was sold to the Champlain Transportation Company, and later was transferred to the Northern Transportation Company, of Whitehall. The latter company, in 1856, built another boat of the same class called the *Oliver Bascom.*

In 1848 the Champlain Transportation Company ran two day boats and two night boats. In 1849 a majority of the stock of this company was transferred to Drew, Robinson and Company, of New York, proprietors of the North River steamers, and Oscar A. Burton, of St. Albans. The number of directors was reduced from fifteen to seven. The Lake Champlain and Hudson River steamers with the railroad from Whitehall to Troy as a connecting link, formed a through line under one management, known as the North and South Through line.

Owing to the construction of railroads, Rouses Point, in 1851, was made the northern terminus of the lake steam-

ers, instead of St. Johns. In 1851 Capt. T. D. Chapman built the fastest steamboat on the lake at Whitehall. She was called the *R. W. Sherman,* but later the name was changed to the *America.* This boat was 250 feet long, 31½ feet wide, 9½ feet deep, with a tonnage of 745, a speed of nineteen miles an hour and cost $80,000. In 1852 the *Canada* was built at Whitehall by George L. Schuyler, of New York. Her dimensions were: Length, 260 feet; width, 33 feet; depth 10 feet. Her tonnage was 881; her speed, eighteen and one-half miles an hour; and her cost, $100,000.

On August 30, 1852, the Rutland and Burlington Railroad Company bought all the property of the Champlain Transportation Company, but not the franchise and corporate rights. The steamboat service then was arranged to suit the schedules of the Rutland and Burlington and Whitehall and Troy railroads. This venture did not prove the success that was anticipated and in the fall of 1853 the old company purchased all the boats it had sold with the exception of the *Boston,* which was used for ferrying and freight purposes between Burlington and Rouses Point; and the *Francis Saltus,* which had been sold to the Plattsburg and Montreal Railroad Company. In 1856 Daniel Drew, Nelson Robinson, and Robert W. Kelley sold their stock in the company to persons interested in the Rensselaer and Saratoga and Whitehall railroads. The *Adirondack* was built at Shelburne harbor for the Champlain Transportation Company, under the direction of Elijah Root, and was launched October 20, 1866, beginning service August 5, 1867. She was 258 feet long, 34 feet wide, 11 feet deep and her speed was nineteen and one-half miles an hour.

The *Oakes Ames* was built at Marks Bay, in South Burlington, in 1868, by Orson S. Spear, for the Rutland

and Burlington Railroad Company. She was 255 feet long, 34 feet wide, and 11 feet deep, with a speed of nineteen and one-half miles an hour. The boat was constructed to carry cars between Burlington and Plattsburg, and was commanded at first by Capt. N. B. Proctor. This scheme did not prove successful and the boat was sold to the Champlain Transportation Company in 1872. She was remodeled as a passenger boat, called the *Champlain,* and was run between Rouses Point and Whitehall, Capt. George Rushlow commanding. The boat ran on the rocks at Steam Mill Bay, about two and one-half miles north of Westport, about ten o'clock on the morning of July 16, 1875. By lashing two gang planks together it was possible to transfer the passengers to the shore. The steamer *Adirondack* was hailed and took the passengers and a schooner took off the freight. Several hours after the wreck occurred a man, supposed to be dead, was found in the stateroom. The foot of the mattress was in the water, one end of the compartment was knocked in and the side was crushed in within four feet of where the man lay. He was not dead, however, but had slept through all the noise and confusion of the wreck. He proved to be a student who had recently gone through a very severe ordeal of examinations and had slept the sleep of complete exhaustion.

The *Grand Isle* was built at Essex, N. Y., in 1869 by Orson S. Spear for Knowlton, Fortune and Tobias. The boat was not a success as a passenger steamer and was sold to the Northern Transportation Company.

The *A. Williams* was built at Marks Bay in 1870 by A. B. Curtis for Warren Corbin and Andrew Williams. She was 125 feet long, 22 feet wide, and 9 feet deep, with a speed of twelve miles an hour. She was sold to the

Champlain Transportation Company in 1872. In 1880 she was rebuilt at Shelburne harbor.

The *L. J. N. Stark* was built at Whitehall, in 1869, for the Northern Transportation Company. She was 185 feet long, 26 feet wide, and 11 feet deep, with a speed of fourteen miles an hour. Capt. Richard Arbuckle was her commander. The boat was burned at Point au Roche, in 1870.

The *Vermont* was built at Shelburne harbor in 1871 by L. S. White for the Champlain Transportation Company. She was 271 feet long, 36 feet wide, 11½ feet deep, and had a speed of nineteen and one-half miles an hour. Her first commander was Capt. William H. Flagg. This boat was rebuilt in 1881.

After the completion of the New York and Canada railroad in 1878 the northern terminal of the passenger steamers was changed from Rouses Point to Plattsburg. The *Maquam* was built at South Hero in 1880 by A. J. Cookson for Warren Corbin. She was 145 feet long, 24 feet wide, and 9 feet deep, with a speed of fourteen miles an hour. She was sold to the St. Johnsbury and Lake Champlain Railroad Company and began trips in 1881, Capt. B. J. Holt commanding. Later she was sold to the Champlain Transportation Company and was commanded by Capt. F. J. Hawley for several years.

On October 30, 1868 the steamer *River Queen* ran on a ledge at Hathaway's Point off the St. Albans shore, and was sunk. This boat, a small craft, had been purchased in July, 1868, by Warren Corbin, of South Hero, for the St. Albans, Grand Isle and Plattsburg Ferry Company. It was run between St. Albans Bay, Maquam and Plattsburg, and was commanded by Capt. William Rockwell.

The Grand Isle Steamboat Company was chartered by the Vermont Legislature, November 10, 1869. The char-

ter was amended December 23, 1880, and the first meeting of the company was held February 21, 1881. The steamer *Reindeer* was built at Alburgh in 1881, by Capt. E. B. Rockwell. The boat was 181 feet long, 27½ feet wide, and 9½ feet deep, with a speed of sixteen miles an hour, and began her trips with Capt. E. B. Rockwell in command. She was run first as a passenger boat, then as a passenger and excursion craft, and finally for excursion parties only.

The steamer *Chateaugay* was built at Shelburne harbor in 1888 for the Champlain Transportation Company. Her dimensions are: Length, 205 feet; width, 54 feet; depth, 9½ feet. Her gross tonnage is 742; horsepower, 1,000; capacity, 1,200 persons. Her speed is twenty miles an hour and her cost, $101,000.

The *Vermont* was built at Shelburne harbor, in 1903, for the Champlain Transportation Company. Her length is 262 feet; her width, 62 feet; and her depth, 10½ feet. The gross tonnage of the boat is 1,195; her horsepower, 1,800; and her capacity, 1,800 persons. The speed is twenty-three miles an hour, and the cost was $201,000.

The *Ticonderoga* was built at Shelburne harbor in 1906 for the Champlain Transportation Company. Her length is 220 feet; her width, 57½ feet; and her depth, 11 feet. The gross tonnage is 892; the horsepower, 1,500; and the capacity, 1,500 persons. The steamer has a speed of twenty-three miles an hour, and cost $170,000.

The *Chateaugay, Vermont,* and *Ticonderoga* have steel hulls.

Some towing business on the lake is now done by the Ottawa Transportation Company. Much is also done by the Lake Champlain Transportation Company, of Whitehall, which owns several tug boats and a fleet of canal boats.

There are many pleasure yachts on Lake Champlain, both steam and sailing craft and the large fleet of motor boats on these waters is rapidly increasing.

An interesting feature in connection with Lake Champlain navigation is the "graveyard" for outworn ships at Shelburne harbor. Among the craft famous in their day that have been retired to this peaceful haven are the *America, Phoenix, Congress, Franklin, Winooski, Burlington, Whitehall, Saranac, Francis Saltus, Canada, United States, A. Williams, Adirondack, Maquam,* and *Vermont.*

The following list of captains of Lake Champlain steamers and their terms of service was compiled for the most part by the late Capt. George Rushlow:

John Winans	Burlington	1809-1815
J. Sherman	Vergennes	1814-1827
George Brush	Montreal	1816-1818
Daniel Davis	Burlington	1819-1820
R. W. Sherman	Vergennes	1818-1847
George Burnham	Burlington	1821-1823
Gideon Lathrop	Lockport, N. Y.	1823-1850
I. R. Harrington	Buffalo	1827-1828
Dan Lyon	Burlington	1825-1844
Ebenezer Hurlbut	Georgia	1828-1829
James H. Snow	Whitehall	1828-1829
William Burton	St. Albans	1831-1833
William Anderson	Burlington	1831-1877
W. W. Sherman	Vergennes	1832-1834
Henry Mayo	Burlington	1834-1884
C. Boardman	Whitehall	1835-1839
R. N. Flack	Essex, N. Y.	1836-1838
William Phillips	Burlington	1838-1842
P. T. Davis	Burlington	1843-1858
H. G. Tisdale	Whitehall	1845-1868
Silas Hinckley	Burlington	1846-1860
T. D. Chapman	Burlington	1847-1852
M. B. Proctor	Burlington	1847-1872
L. Chamberlin	Plattsburgh	1848-1860
John O'Grady	Burlington	1849-1854
A. Brainard	Elizabethtown, N. Y.	1844-1850
H. R. Snyder	Port Kent	1850-1860
Seth R. Foster	New York City	1853-1857
Moses Baxter	Chicago, Ill.	1852-1854

William H. Flagg	Burlington	1852-1874
A. D. Vaughn	Whitehall	1857-1862
Richard Chapin	Whitehall	1857-1862
Z. R. Stetson	Champlain, N. Y.	1860-1862
B. J. Holt	Plattsburgh	1868-1887
Warren Corbin	South Hero	1869-1873
George Rushlow	Highgate	1870-1892
E. B. Rockwell	Alburgh	1881-1885
F. J. Hawley	Swanton	1882-1903
E. J. Baldwin	Burlington	1884-1909
Bernard Sawyer	Whitehall	1885-1895
E. R. Rockwell		1903-1925
W. Warren Rockwell		1904-1915
Frank G. White		1913-1920
John Rushlow		1908-
C. J. Edson		1915-
John E. Montgomery		1915-

James Truman, of Burlington; Robert White, of Shelburne; William Rockwell, and others, also commanded steamers.

In 1893 the office of general manager of the Champlain Transportation Company was created and Capt. George Rushlow was appointed to the position. He was succeded in 1903 by D. A. Loomis.

Among the men who have served longest on the lake or in connection with its traffic are: Hiram Ferris, pilot on the first *Vermont,* in 1809 who continued to act in that capacity on various boats for the greater part of the time until 1858; Elijah Root, employed for fifty-four years by the Champlain Transportation Company, most of the time as chief engineer and superintendent of construction and repairs.

Barring an interval of six years (1885-1890) Capt. E. B. Rockwell was continuously engaged in lake service from 1842 to the time of his death December 3, 1928 at the age of 98 years, 9 months and 15 days. He received his first government license as pilot in 1856.

Col. Legrand B. Cannon was president of the Champlain Transportation Company for more than thirty years.



The first lighthouse on Lake Champlain was built in 1826 on Juniper Island, a few miles off the Burlington shore. The Vermont Legislature in 1828 ceded to the United States Government, at its option, either Juniper Island or five acres of land on Appletree Point as a site for a light tower, and the island was chosen. The next lighthouses to be built on the lake were at Split Rock and Cumberland Head.

The lights to aid navigation, maintained at the present time (1909) by the United States on Lake Champlain, are given herewith: Windmill Point light station, Alburgh, tower forty feet high, Rouses Point pierhead light station, lantern on post.

Isle La Motte light station, lantern on tower twenty-five feet high, dwelling one and a half stories.

Pointe au Roche light station, limestone tower fifty feet high.

Gordon Landing pierhead light station, Grand Isle, lantern on post.

Cumberland Head light station, limestone tower fifty feet high, connected by covered way with dwelling.

Plattsburg breakwater light station, two beacon lights twenty-seven feet high

Bluff Point light station, tower thirty-six feet high on limestone dwelling.

Colchester Reef light station, octagonal tower thirty-five feet high, connected with dwelling.

Burlington breakwater north extension pierhead, north end light station, portable beam; Burlington north extension pierhead south end light station, lantern on a post; Burlington breakwater south light, portable beacon.

Juniper Island light station, tower twenty-five feet high, connected with dwelling by covered way.

North Hero light, lantern on a stake on a pyramidal crib.

South Hero light, lantern on a stake on a pyramidal crib.

Split Rock light station, limestone tower thirty-nine feet high, connected with dwelling by covered way.

Otter Creek light station, conical pier supporting a post.

Barber Point light station, near Westport, octagonal tower on a dwelling.

Crown Point light station, limestone, tower fifty-five feet high connected by covered way with dwelling.

Watch Point (Vt.) light station, small wooden house surmounted by a post with bracket from which lantern is suspended.

All the lights mentioned hereafter are between Whitehall Narrows channel and the town of Whitehall: Old Maid Place light, movable beacon with number on side; Lower End of Four Channels and narrows lights, movable beacon with number on side; Pulpit Point light stake in pyramidal crib, with number on side; Above Pulpit Point light, movable beacon with number on side; Opposite Belden Dock light, movable beacon with number on side; Chilson Bend light, movable beacon with number on side; Lower-end of Two Channels light, movable beacon with number on side; Maple Bend light, a mast with pier foundation, with number on side; Head of Two Channels light, movable beacon with number on side; Long Reach light, movable beacon with number on side; Steam Mill Point light, movable beacon with number on side; South of Sandy Dock light, movable beacon with number on side; Opposite Chapman Dock light, stake on pier foundation, with number on side; Cosey Camp light, movable beacon, with number on side; Benjamin Place light, post on pyramidal crib, with number on side.

Supplementary Note

D. A. LOOMIS

Capt. E. J. Baldwin died in Burlington, Vt., November 26, 1909. His last service was captain of the steamer *Vermont* which discontinued operations for the season in September of that year.

Capt. E. B. Rockwell succeeded Capt. Baldwin as captain of the steamer *Vermont* in 1910 and he continued as captain of the steamer *Vermont* up to and including the season of 1928. The boat discontinued service that year in September and Capt. Rockwell died at his home in St. Albans, Vt., December 3, 1928, at the advanced age of ninety-eight years, nine months and fifteen days. He was well known throughout the country and abroad as the oldest living navigator in actual and continuous service.

Other captains not mentioned in the Crockett History on page 280.

Capt. W. Warren Rockwell was a captain up to and including the season of 1909, after which date he became an employee of the government, Department of Commerce, Steamboat Inspection Service as inspector of hulls.

Capt. Rockwell was succeeded on the *Ticonderoga* by Capt. Frank G. White from 1910 to and including 1919.

Capt. John Rushlow, son of Capt. George Rushlow, succeeded Capt. White on the *Ticonderoga* in 1920, remained in that position up to and including the season of 1922. His service from that date to the present time has been marine supervisor at the Shelburne Harbor shipyard in charge of construction and maintenance of the company's floating and shore property.

Capt. C. G. Edson succeeded Capt. Rushlow as captain on the *Ticonderoga* and is still in service.

Capt. E. R. Rockwell died May 25, 1925.

Capt. John E. Montgomery entered the service of the company as captain of the steamer *Chateaugay* in 1925 and is still in service.

Col. LeGrande B. Cannon retired as president of the company January 11, 1895, was succeeded by James Roosevelt as president, who served in that capacity until January 3, 1901. Mr. Roosevelt was succeeded as president by Horace G. Young who served until June 23, 1903. Mr. Young was succeeded by David Wilcox who served until May 29, 1907. Mr. Wilcox was succeeded by Leonor F. Loree in 1907 and who is still the president of the company.

On page 280 of this history my name is given as "D. C." Loomis, General Manager, succeeding Capt. George Rushlow. My initials are D. A. I was appointed general manager July 9, 1903, and have been in that position ever since.

The Champlain Transportation Company, which had operated a through line service in connection with The Lake George Steamboat Company, discontinued that service at the close of the season of 1932, and same has not been restored up to the present time, 1936.

Beginning with 1933 the company operated only one boat. That was the *Chateaugay* and the service which she performed was between Burlington, Vt., and Port Kent, N. Y., for the transportation of automobiles, freight and passengers. The season lasted about six months, starting the middle of May and ending November 1. This service was continued 1934 and 1935.

In 1936 the increase in automobile transportation induced the company to put on a second steamer, the *Ticonderoga,* this boat operating from July 1 to Labor Day, September 7, which covered the period of the larger amount of tourist travel. The *Chateaugay* started May 17 and performed service up to and including November 1.

The successful operation period is from about the middle of July to Labor Day and after the tourist travel drops off, the business is largely of a local character.

There may be some possibility when conditions are right to restore the through line service but of that no definite announcement can be made.

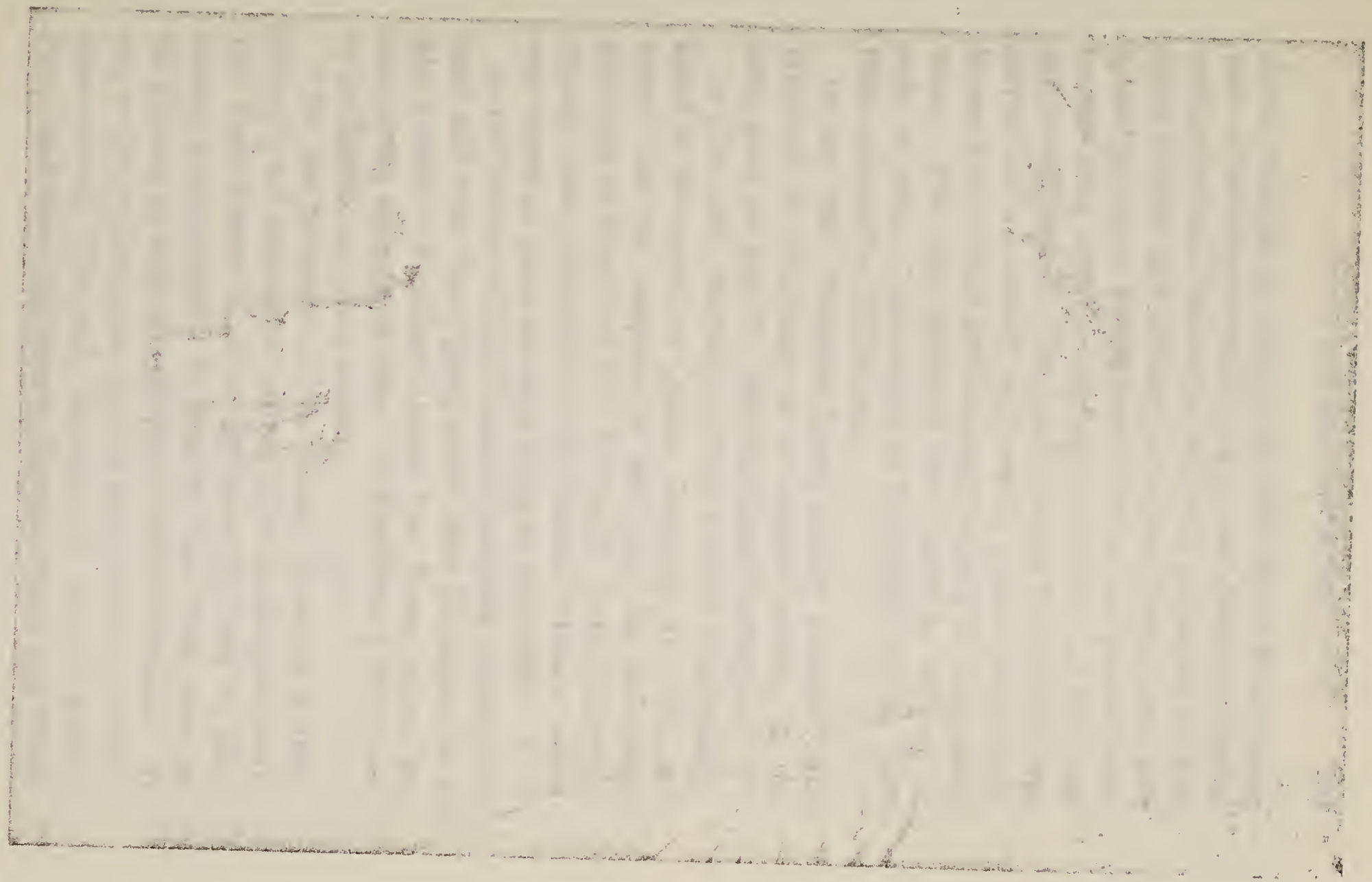
Additional ferry transportation facilities between Burlington and the New York ports have recently been provided by the Green Mountain-Adirondack Ferry Company, of which Horace W. Corbin of Grand Isle is president. These boats, assembled at Burlington, are all metal, 150 feet long, driven by Diesel engines, have prow and stern propellers and carrying capacity of forty cars. They are all of the streamline type.

CHAPTER XVI

SOME LAKE CHAMPLAIN INCIDENTS

A FEW scattered incidents of importance connected with the history of Lake Champlain, although having no consecutive relation, deserve to be mentioned in this book, as do some facts relative to the development of the Champlain valley.

On July 22, 1811, a flood of unusual severity occurred in this region. Several lives were lost, houses and barns were swept away, and hardly a mill was left standing on a stream included in a section extending from the southern part of Lake Champlain across the State to the Connecticut River. Thirty years later evidences of this freshet were plainly visible. Another terrible flood was experienced in 1830. From July 15 to July 21 of that year the temperature every day ranged from 91 to 94 degrees in the shade. On Saturday afternoon, July 24, rain began to fall, and continued with slight intermission until the following Thursday noon, July 29. During the five days of the storm the rainfall at Burlington exceeded seven inches, and of this amount 3.85 inches fell on July 26 in about sixteen hours. The storm was accompanied often by severe thunder and lightning. The water rushed down the sides of hills and mountains in torrents. Crops were destroyed, and houses, bridges, and fences were carried away. Hardly a mill was left upon a stream. The country to the height of fifteen feet above the ordinary level of streams was one vast sheet of water. The Winooski and New Haven river valleys suffered most. On July 27 the Winooski River was from four to twenty feet higher than ever before known, according to the width of the channel.



VERMONT FOREST SERVICE PHOTO.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN AND THE ADIRONDACKS FROM MOUNT PHILO, FERRISBURG, VT.

About midnight on July 26, the New Haven River having risen to an unprecedented height, was diverted from its ordinary channel above the little mill settlement of Beeman's Hollow, and following a highway swept down with a head of ten or twelve feet. Twenty-one persons were carried away with the wreckage of houses and mills and only seven escaped. One man, Lemuel B. Eldridge, was carried into a cornfield, and here, on a little rise of land, he was able to stand until morning, keeping his head above water. The other survivors were saved by clinging to rocks or trees. The rainfall at Burlington for the year 1830 amounted to 59.3 inches.

In July, 1817, President James Monroe travelled from Whitehall to Plattsburg on a steamer arriving at the latter place on July 27. He also visited Burlington.

In July, 1818, the body of Gen. Richard Montgomery, killed in the assault on Quebec, December 31, 1775, and buried near the ramparts of that city, was disinterred and taken to New York City for burial. It was conveyed through Lake Champlain on the steamer *Phoenix,* which was draped in black, the flags flying at half mast.

In the summer of 1825 General Lafayette visited Vermont and New York, going south from Burlington on a lake steamer. President Martin Van Buren visited the lake during his term of office. In 1840 Henry Clay came to Burlington on a lake steamer.

After the execution of John Brown, December 2, 1859, following his attempt to free the slaves at Harpers Ferry, Va., Gov. Henry A. Wise delivered the body to Mrs. Brown, who brought it by train to New York, then up the Hudson by boat, and thence by rail to Vergennes. It was so late in the season that the line steamers no longer were running. The body was taken by team to Adams' Ferry, and across the lake to Barber's Point and West-

port, where the funeral party remained over night, going to North Elba, N. Y., Brown's home, the following day. Wendell Phillips, the famous orator and anti-slavery leader, was one of the party. The funeral was held December 8, Rev. Joshua Young, of Burlington, being the officiating clergyman. On his return from North Elba, Phillips addressed a great audience at Vergennes.

On August 7, 1872, President and Mrs. U. S. Grant, accompanied by their sons, Frederick and Jesse, Gen. P. H. Sheridan and Gen. Horace Porter, arrived at Plattsburg from the Thousand Islands. On August 8 the party crossed the lake on the steamer *Vermont* and were cordially welcomed to Burlington, where a large and informal reception was held at the American Hotel. The party proceeded south on the lake as far as Crown Point, being enthusiastically received at every lake port by large crowds.

On the morning of August 25, 1891, President Benjamin Harrison left Saratoga, N. Y., and arrived at Burlington, where he addressed a large crowd. In the afternoon the President and his party embarked on Col. W. Seward Webb's steam yacht *Elfrida* and proceeded to Maquam Bay, where a special train took the distinguished guest to St. Albans.

In the summer of 1897 President William McKinley spent his vacation at Hotel Champlain, Bluff Point, N. Y., near Plattsburg. On August 4, 1897, President McKinley, Vice-President and Mrs. Garrett A. Hobart, Secretary of War and Mrs. Russell A. Alger visited Burlington, crossing the lake on the steamer *Maquam*. On August 9 the President again visited Burlington, Col. H. W. Putnam's steam yacht *Washita* being placed at his disposal.

On September 5, 1901, Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt came to Burlington to address the Vermont Officers'

Reunion Society. The next day he went to Isle La Motte as the guest of the Vermont Fish and Game League, going on the steamer *Chateaugay*. After the banquet the Vice-President retired to the home of former Lieut. Gov. N. W. Fisk to rest, and while there received a telephone message announcing the assassination of President McKinley, at Buffalo. A scene of happy festivities was changed in a moment to one of deepest mourning as Senator Redfield Proctor, in a voice trembling with emotion, announced the sad news to the assembled audience. Colonel Roosevelt returned to Burlington on Dr. W. Seward Webb's yacht *Elfrida,* and left by train for Buffalo.

During the week of July 4, 1909, New York and Vermont cooperated in staging a mammoth bi-state program of Lake Champlain Tercentenary celebration exercises. Commemoration exercises were held in many of the churches in both states on Sunday, July 4.

At Crown Point Forts, N. Y., Monday's celebration featured a sham battle, Indian pageants by the descendants of the native tribes of the Champlain Valley, addresses by Gov. Charles E. Hughes of New York, Seth Low of New York and Judge Albert C. Barnes of Chicago, an original poem by Clinton Scollard of Clinton, N. Y., an evening parade, pageant and fireworks.

At Ticonderoga, N. Y., on Tuesday, July 6, the celebration continued with a review of the Tenth Regiment, New York National Guard, by Governor Hughes and party; sham battle along old French lines, afternoon addresses by Governor Hughes, Gov. George H. Prouty of Vermont and Dr. Hamilton W. Mabie of New York, with an original ballad by Percy MacKaye of Cornish, N. H.; salute to the President of the United States by the United States Naval Flotilla and addresses by President Taft and other distinguished guests; Indian pageants and fireworks.

The continued celebration on Wednesday, July 7, centered at Plattsburgh, N. Y. This opened with an address by President Taft at Cliff Haven, followed by Indian pageants at the mouth of the Saranac River; private reception by the President to the representatives of foreign governments and members of New York Legislature at Hotel Champlain; parade and review of military, civic and fraternal organizations at Plattsburgh Barracks; addresses by President Taft, Hon. J. J. Jusserand, the French ambassador, Hon. James Bryce, the British ambassador, Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, postmaster-general of Canada, Governor Hughes, Governor Prouty and the Hon. Elihu Root, United States senator from New York; an original poem by Daniel L. Cady; evening parade at Plattsburgh Barracks, Indian pageants, banquet to the President at Hotel Champlain; fireworks at mouth of Saranac River.

The celebration was shifted to the Vermont side of the lake on Thursday, July 8. The Presidential Party crossed the lake and arrived in Burlington at 10 a.m., and was escorted from the King Street wharf to City Hall Park by the Vermont Division of the National Guard, Col. J. Gray Estey commanding. Governor Prouty of Vermont presided at the exercises in City Hall Park, which opened with prayer by the Rt. Rev. Arthur C. A. Hall, D.D., Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont. Governor Prouty welcomed the Presidential party to Vermont and Mayor James E. Burke extended the welcome to Burlington. There were addresses by Governor Hughes, Messrs. Bryce, Jusserand and Lemieux, an original poem by Bliss Carman and brief remarks by President Taft, who reviewed a parade at noon. Governor Prouty gave a luncheon to the guests at the Ethan Allen Club. Members of the New York Legislature were entertained at luncheon at the University of Vermont. The

afternoon program consisted of Indian pageants on the water front, and inspection of the city by the Presidential party. President Taft spoke at a banquet at the University of Vermont gymnasium in the evening, and this was followed by Indian pageants.

The program of Friday, July 9, centered about Isle La Motte, Vt., during the day and at Rouses Point, N. Y., in the evening. The Presidential party journeyed from Burlington to Isle La Motte in the morning on the steamer *Ticonderoga* and were joined there by the New York State Commission and guests. The Rt. Rev. Thomas M. A. Burke, Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Albany, N. Y., officiated at solemn high mass at 10.30. With Governor Prouty of Vermont presiding, exercises were held, opening with prayer by Dr. John M. Thomas, president of Middlebury College. Senator Henry W. Hill of Buffalo welcomed visitors to Isle La Motte. Addresses were given by Governor Hughes, Hon. Wendell P. Stafford, justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and an original poem was read by Prof. John Erskine of Columbia University. There was music by the St. Albans Choral Union. In the afternoon, a boulder was dedicated in memory of Col. Seth Warner and Capt. Remember Baker by the Patriotic Women of Vermont. Indian pageants followed at Isle La Motte in the afternoon and at Rouses Point in the evening.

The week's celebration closed with a water carnival at Rouses Point, N. Y., Saturday, July 10, followed by the unveiling of a tablet to the memory of the soldiers of the war of 1812, on the main building of the University of Vermont, in Burlington. This building was used as a barracks for troops in the second war against Great Britain.

Probably the lumber industry is the oldest on Lake Champlain, some of the earliest settlers having been en-

gaged in transporting timber to Canada. About 1855 a large amount of lumber began to be shipped from Canada to Burlington, the quantity increasing until in 1878 it reached a total of more than 200,000,000 feet that year. At this time Burlington was considered the third lumber market in the United States, Chicago being first and Albany second. Since then the lumber business on Lake Champlain has decreased in volume.

For nearly a century the working of the iron ore deposits of Essex County, N. Y., has been one of the important industries of the Champlain valley. The opening of the Champlain Canal stimulated the trade and in 1827 the first blast furnace was built at Port Henry. According to Hon. F. S. Witherbee there had been built at Port Henry by 1865 "eight blast furnaces, at least twenty forges and three rolling mills and two foundries. Iron ore was being shipped in large quantities to the blast furnaces elsewhere in the state, and even to Pittsburgh. In fact, Lake Champlain ores were used in Pittsburgh before those of Lake Superior."

The military post at Plattsburg was established in 1815. It was maintained with accommodations for two companies until 1890, when it was converted into a full regimental post.

In June, 1826, it was decided by the United States government to establish an arsenal at Vergennes, and in 1827 the principal buildings were completed. There were officers' quarters, a magazine, a gun house, a laboratory and shops at this place. The arsenal building was three stories in height and was constructed of stone. Later this property was sold and the arsenal was abandoned, the buildings being turned over to the State of Vermont for an Industrial School.

Through the efforts of Senator Proctor, of Vermont, formerly secretary of war, Congress passed a bill to establish a cavalry post in the town of Colchester, between the villages of Winooski and Essex Junction, and not far from Burlington. This reservation was called Fort Ethan Allen, the construction of the first building being begun in May, 1893.

Burlington became a city in 1895 and Plattsburg, in 1902, these two ports being the most populous and important on the lake. The extension of the main line of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad from Whitehall to Plattsburg in 1874 added to the importance of this lake town. In 1890 the Plattsburg State Normal School was opened, and in 1895 the Catholic Summer School of America held its first session at Cliff Haven, N. Y., near Plattsburg.

St. Albans became a city in 1897.

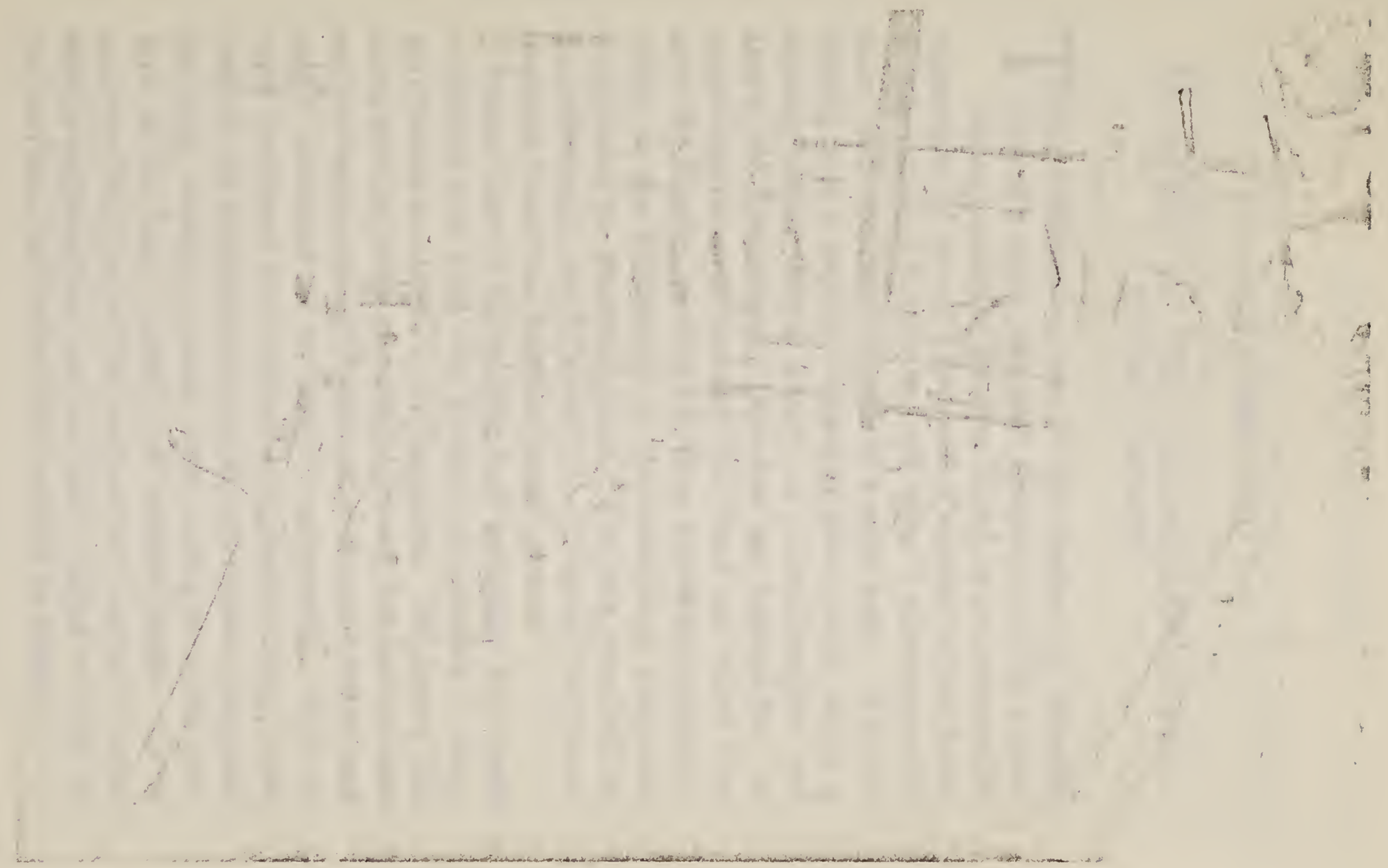
The Champlain valley is growing rapidly in popularity with summer tourists. With natural advantages unsurpassed by any region, it should become one of the great summer playgrounds of America. The first large summer hotel to be erected on Lake Champlain, at Bluff Point, N. Y., was built in 1889.

While it is a difficult matter to include in any compilation all the names of famous men who have been associated with the history of Lake Champlain, such a list must include Samuel Champlain, Father Jogues, Governor de Courcelles, Marquis de Tracy, Arendt Van Corlear, Gen. John Winthrop, M. de Beaujeu, M. de Contrecoeur, Baron Dieskau, General Montcalm, General de Levis, General de Bourlamaque, General Bougainville, Gen. William Johnson, General Webb, Gen. James Abercrombie, Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, Lord Howe, Gen. Phineas Lyman, Col. Ephraim Williams, Thomas Gage, John Stark, Israel Putnam, Capt. Charles Lee, Ethan Allen, Ira Allen, Re-

member Baker, Samuel Herrick, Seth Warner, Ebenezer Allen, Gov. Thomas Chittenden, Benedict Arnold, Silas Deane, Gen. David Wooster, Gen. Henry Knox, Maj. John Andre, Gen. Philip Schuyler, Gen. Richard Montgomery, Gen. John Sullivan, Gen. Horatio Gates, Robert R. Livingston, Robert Treat Paine, Benjamin Franklin, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Gen. Anthony Wayne, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Gen. Arthur St. Clair, Capt. Thomas Pringle, Sir Guy Carleton, Gen. John Burgoyne, General Phillips, General Fraser, Lord Balcarras, General von Reidesel, Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, Marquis de Lafayette, Gov. George Clinton, Col. Zebulon Pike, Capt. Thomas Macdonough, Capt. George Downie, Gen. James Wilkinson, Gen. Wade Hampton, Gen. Alexander Macomb, Maj. John E. Wool, and Sir George Prevost.

For two centuries Lake Champlain was chiefly the scene of warfare. For the past century its history has been principally a record of commerce and recreation. Its story of three hundred years, written often in letters of blood, has been one of patriotic achievements and thrilling adventures, second to that of no portion of the continent of North America.

As lovely today as when it first gladdened the sight of the great French explorer, through all the four seasons Lake Champlain presents an ever-changing panorama for the delight of all who, having eyes, are able to see Nature in her fairest moods. When, to the charm of natural beauty, is added a knowledge of the notable events that have played an important part in the history of three great nations, the past and the present unite in giving to the Champlain valley a place unique in the Western World.



GONDOLA "PHILADELPHIA" SUNK IN BATTLE AT VALCOUR IN 1775 AND RAISED IN 1935
THE MAST WAS STILL STANDING AFTER HAVING BEEN SUBMERGED 160 YEARS.

CHAPTER XVII

RECOVERY OF THE PHILADELPHIA AND ROYAL SAVAGE

THE *Philadelphia,* one of the smaller of Benedict Arnold's ships, was sunk October 11, 1776, a short distance south of Valcour Island, in an unsuccessful engagement of Arnold's fleet with a superior British force. It was refloated August 9, 1935, after a submergence of more than one hundred and fifty-eight years. The refloating was a notable engineering feat, which added a striking chapter to the history of Lake Champlain and also of the Revolutionary period of our national life. A tradition grew up in time that the vessel was raised soon after the disaster, but this was quite improbable, however, owing to the inadequacy of the mechanical equipment available at the time and place. The ship was built at Skenesborough, now Whitehall, N. Y., by ship carpenters imported from New England seaport towns.

Recent interest in locating and salvaging the vessel originated with two New Yorkers, Commodore J. Ruppert Schalk and Capt. L. F. Hagglund. The former had sailed the lake in his yacht, the *Linwood,* for ten summers and had become strongly enamored of its scenic beauty and deeply interested in its historic associations. Both of these gentlemen are students of Colonial history, especially of the Revolutionary period, and Captain Hagglund has done valuable research work relating to naval warfare on the lake, especially of Arnold's battle. He is associated with one of the foremost of America's marine salvage organizations, and has been engaged in work of this sort since his return from overseas in France.

This interest in the possibility of locating and refloating of the *Philadelphia* was stimulated by the success of Captain Hagglund's efforts in the summer of 1934 to recover the unburnt parts of the *Royal Savage*, Benedict Arnold's flagship. A very interesting and full account of this feat was written by Mr. Robert G. Skerrett and published in the United States Naval Institute Proceedings, November, 1935, from which some quotations are made later.

When Mr. Hagglund was in training for a commission at Plattsburg in 1917 many stories about the *Royal Savage* reached his ears from the residents. It was reported that up to the middle of the nineteenth century and later that the upper timbers of the schooner were visible in times of low water, that relic hunters ravaged the exposed parts, and that boatmen and fishermen were accustomed to take sightseers to look at the visible parts. The resolve to make an attempt at reclamation quickly formed itself in his mind, should the opportunity offer. In 1929 he took the matter of recovery up with the federal and state authorities, but they were unable to provide funds for the work. In 1932 he returned during his summer vacation with the intention of carrying out his purpose alone. He found it a difficult task. Accumulations of silt had either buried the framework or made the upper timbers hard to recognize. Assistance from the locality proved to be of little avail, amounting to no more than a clue that the desired spot was somewhere off the southwest corner of Valcour Island. He proceeded to explore this area, and received the first intimations that the object was not far away, by finding some cannon balls, bar-shot, grapeshot, and other objects of a similar sort. "On the very last day of his vacation * * * he rowed himself out and over the entire area and to scan the lake bottom systematically. At the end of several hours of that patient scrutiny, his eyes caught the dim outlines of

the ribs and timbers of a vessel lying just outside of the area he had walked upon in his diving dress. The *Royal Savage* was found! The position was approximately 150 feet offshore from the southwest tip of Valcour Island, and the water at the uppermost end of the wreck was less than twenty feet in depth. He could do no more that season than to take cross ranges that would enable him at some other time to go directly to the wreck and then try to raise it."

In the summer of 1934 Captain Hagglund returned to the scene of his operations two years before, now equipped with the necessary mechanical appliances to recover what was left of the *Royal Savage*. He established a camp on Valcour Island, trained local help to operate the pumps and to perform other services required by a diver. Her timbers were about sixteen feet under water and her stern partly buried in about four feet of mud, about twenty-four feet beneath the surface. He now made a thorough search inside and outside of her to establish her real identity. He was rewarded by recovering pewter buttons bearing regimental symbols of troops known to have been at Crown Point and Ticonderoga in the year of Arnold's naval service; a number of pewter spoons, on one of which was engraved "1776"; a variety of metal adornments and parts of military accoutrement, and cannon balls of sizes corresponding to the calibers of the guns aboard the *Royal Savage*.

Having cleared away the mud the surviving framework was lifted and brought to the surface by clever use of empty drums found not far away, which had contained tar for road construction. These provided the necessary buoyancy. In this way the wreck was brought to the surface and towed shoreward.

The framework was found to be 52 feet long and had a beam of about 15 feet. It was estimated that the schooner probably had a water line of 60 feet.

"Captain Hagglund carefully marked each piece of timber, dismembered the wreck and saw them safely aboard * * * to storage in the vicinity of New York City. There all that is left of the *Royal Savage* reposes awaiting appropriate housing."

During the winter and spring of 1935 Messrs. Schalk and Hagglund collaborated in an intensive study of Arnold's naval battle, sparing neither labor nor expense in gaining access to all available authoritative sources of information, especially maps of the locality published in London four months after the battle from sketches made by a British officer who was with the Royal fleet.

Having outlined an area within which the vessel was most probably located, Messrs. Schalk and Hagglund, with the help of a corps of assistants, including an expert diver, William Lilja of New York, on board the *Linwood,* began to drag the selected area some distance from the west shore of Valcour Island. This was August 1, 1935. Late in the afternoon the drag caught and the boat stopped as if anchored. This was encouraging and aroused hopes, but it was not decisive, for the obstruction might be a protruding rock or, possibly, a fisherman's shanty which some time had come to grief. It was now growing dark and the men were growing tired. The spot was marked with a buoy and operations suspended for the day.

The next morning the diver went down to examine the object. His first report was that it was a fisherman's shanty. Later he made a second descent and brought back the good news that the object was a naval craft, in proof of which he exhibited some cannon balls picked up on deck. He also reported the discovery of three cannons,

which were afterwards found to measure twelve feet in length and twelve inches in diameter at the mouth.

Plans were now made for refloating the ship. The diver at once proceeded to make the necessary underwater preparations for the lift. A derrick strong enough to carry the load was generously provided at nominal cost by the Cashman Construction Company, Burlington, and brought into position for action by a tugboat of the Champlain Transportation Company. This was August 9. A graphic and detailed account of the steps in the preparation of the ship and the subsequent operations of refloating appeared in the *Burlington* (Vt.) *Daily News* of August 10, substantially as follows:

"William Lilja, a noted deep sea diver, employed for the exploration, had prepared the *Philadelphia* for removal from its watery grave. He had removed the three guns, and left them on the lake bottom. He had already raised aboard the *Linwood* some cannon balls and other relics of the battle. Using a high-pressure water jet sixty feet beneath the surface of the lake, Lilja had cut three holes through the sands beneath the *Philadelphia*. He had run rope slings through each of the holes, placed them amidship, near the bow and near the stern. The ends of these slings he had brought to the surface and fastened to logs, extending crossways of the ship, across the gunwales, to act as spreaders, lest the water-soaked ship be crushed in an attempt to lift it. From the hook beneath the pulley suspended from the derrick on the lighter by steel cables dangled a twenty-five-foot chain. Six loops of rope were suspended from the lower end of the chain.

"In the early afternoon Lilja donned his diving suit and descended to the bottom of the lake. He fastened the ends of the six rope loops near the six ends of the three log spreaders and returned to the surface to give

some instructions to the crew of the lighter. Again descending to the bottom of the lake, Lilja signalled, by means of his rope, to tighten the slack in the derrick line. He continued his signal until a slight strain was on the line and the huge lighter took on a list. Then the signal from Lilja came to 'hold it.' The diver soon came to the surface.

"He explained to the scores of spectators that he had just cleared the mud from the bottom of the ship by means of a powerful water jet and was holding the *Philadelphia* by the derrick under a strain that it might slowly ease itself free of the muddy bottom. This method, the diver said, would be less likely to break the craft than a sudden pull.

"Again descending, the diver signalled for a further raising. He soon returned to the surface and brought a line which he said was attached to the bow and which he ordered a seaman to hold taut that the ship might be raised parallel to the side of the lighter and to keep it from turning. Having fully satisfied himself that all was well with the lines beneath the surface, the diver told Schalk to go ahead slowly. He then removed his suit. Schalk signalled to the derrick operator and again the steel cables slid through the pulleys of the derrick. It was 2.30 o'clock when one of the two score of spectators and workers on the lighter shouted, 'There is the mast,' and a few seconds later its tip broke through the surface of the lake, as cheers resounded from the throats of passengers, in the thirty-six assorted pleasure craft, who were watching the salvage operations.

"When the boat had been lifted so that some six feet of the mast was exposed Captain Hagglund halted the progress of the raising. He sent a member of the *Linwood's* crew to nail a Colonial flag to its tip. The lad plunged into

the lake and attempted to climb the mast, but it proved too slippery to mount. A long plank was extended from the side of the lighter and the seaman climbed up to the plank and was then given the flag, which he nailed to the topmost part of the mast amid the cheers of the spectators. Also to the amazement of some persons who wondered why the Stars and Stripes were not used, Schalk explained that the flag used was the Colonial flag, like that flown by Arnold's fleet and that although it had thirteen stripes, the stars were not adopted until years later.

"Hagglund explained that the obtaining of a flag for this purpose was only one of the many difficulties encountered in gathering together the equipment for finding and raising the ship. After efforts to obtain a Colonial flag had failed, Mrs. Hagglund and a friend made it themselves.

"With all hands carefully watching, lest some line be fouled or something go wrong, the raising was resumed and soon the hand-hewed bow appeared at the surface and the operation was continued until the fore part of the ship was awash with the stern lying some eight feet lower.

"Again the operations were stopped while Stephen M. Driscoll, collector of customs, of St. Albans, megaphoned for a minute of silent prayer. Next three volleys were fired, also in honor of the fallen Revolutionary War heroes. The solemn formality completed, the whistles and horns blared forth in exuberance over the difficult feat successfully accomplished. Then Commodore Schalk was introduced by megaphone, as was Captain Hagglund, to receive a burst of applause and other acknowledgments from the nearby crafts.

"When shallow water was reached and the ship was allowed to rest on the sand, interest centered in its physical condition after such long submergence, and equally in its varied contents.

"Its state of preservation was marvellous, which Captain Hagglund, an experienced observer of underwater effects on various materials, attributed to the fact that the submergence was in fresh water. In his opinion deterioration would have proceeded much further in salt water.

"Measurements were made and the vessel was found to be 54 feet long and 15-foot beam. The mast was 35 feet.

"Still fastened to the deck were two wooden rails about three by four inches in size, which evidently were tracks for the gun carriage. Rings bolted into the sides of the ship were a few feet from the bow, probably used for tackle in running the gun back into position after the recoil. Also close by the rings were holes with their iron lining rusted, but still in place. These might have been used in the gun tackle or for anchor ropes.

"Fastened along each side of the boat, a little over a foot below the gunwale were wooden rails, about four by six inches in size, with holes partially carved for the carrying of a dozen of cannon balls each. Only one shot remained.

"Three holes beneath the water line were held to have been ample cause for the sinking of the ship. The vessel was planked inside and outside of the ribs. One cannon ball was found between the two plankings."

Great interest was aroused by the unexpected assortment of objects found on board. Three cannons and some cannon balls have already been referred to. In addition there were found human bones, teeth with no cavities, pieces of leather shoes still soft and pliable, glass sections and the wooden frame of an hour glass, wooden ramrods with brass clips attached, parts of the ship's rigging, a spade with much of the wooden handle intact, hatchet heads, pewter coat buttons with regimental numbers 26 and 40 and other relics of historic interest. When cleaning

out the mud from the bottom each shovelful was carefully washed and screened to make sure that nothing of value was lost. At the bottom was found a layer of cobblestones, evidently used as ballast.

The souvenir hunter was there and had to be watched. In spite of the vigilance of the customs patrol and crew of the *Linwood* a pin used to hold a cannon in place was missing. Suddenly a command was given by a customs officer that if the missing article was not returned, everybody on the lighter and other nearby craft would be searched. A few moments of suspense followed—then, unnoticed, some person produced the pin.

After the completion of the examination of the ship and its contents, preparations were made for towing it to Burlington harbor and thence to Shelburne Harbor. It was lashed to the Cashman lighter, the derrick of which kept it afloat. Upon reaching its destination it was removed from the water on the marine railway of the Champlain Transportation Company. It was then fenced in and roofed to protect it from pillagers.

Its final destination is as yet undetermined. It is said to be the desire of Commodore Schalk and Captain Hagglund that this precious relic shall remain in the Champlain valley and preferably become the property of the Fleming Museum of the University of Vermont. Should the necessary funds be obtained a suitable building would be provided near the museum. At the present time the *Philadelphia,* housed on a barge, is on a tour of lake ports in an effort to arouse sufficient interest to provide for its permanent preservation.

CHAPTER XVIII

CHAMPLAIN BRIDGES

LAKE CHAMPLAIN has been an inconvenient and costly barrier between what are now the States of New York and Vermont since the earliest settlements in these regions. But while the lake has operated as a barrier to free intercourse between the States, it has also provided an important route for water borne commerce, an account of which will be found in Chapter XV. Until 1929 ferries had been practically the only means of travel across the lake.

The inadequacy of the ferry service became increasingly felt with the rapid growth of tourist travel, the multiplication of summer resorts on both shores, the increasing volume of commercial traffic, and the advent of motor cars. The ferries operate not more than eight months in the year, sometimes not more than six. Only few provide night service. The long intervals between trips are often inconvenient and sometimes costly.

Popular interest in providing more adequate facilities for crossing the lake found definite expression when, in 1923, the Vermont legislature appointed an investigating commission, which was reappointed in 1925. That same year the New York general assembly appointed a commission to examine the matter from the standpoint of that State. Numerous joint meetings of these commissions were held during the next two or three years, with the result that now one bridge is in use and two others are under construction.



FAIRCHILD AERIAL SURVEYS, INC., N. Y. C.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN BRIDGE, CROWN POINT, N. Y. TO CHIMNEY POINT, VT.

I. THE CHAMPLAIN BRIDGE

On August 26, 1929, the first vehicular bridge to span Lake Champlain was dedicated and opened to the public, with appropriate ceremonies, in which Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York and Gov. John E. Weeks of Vermont participated. Such was the popular interest in this interstate achievement that the occasion attracted, by conservative estimate, 40,000 people.

The bridge connects Fort St. Frederic in New York and Chimney Point in Vermont, two points famous for scenic beauty and historic interest. The Vermont end is the site of the largest French settlement on the east shore of the lake. The original block walls of Fortress Depieux are still standing and are now enclosed by a thick veneer of brick taken from Fort St. Frederic. In Revolutionary times this was a tavern and a favorite rendezvous of Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain boys, where plans for the capture of Ticonderoga were discussed and matured. It is now the residence of Millard F. Barnes, who has a large and interesting collection of relics from Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary days. On the New York side there still stand the remains of the old French Fort St. Frederic, the building of which was begun in 1731 as a simple stockade and later developed into a fortress of great strength. Only about 200 yards to the west are the ruins of the British Fort Amherst, begun in 1759 at enormous expense but never finished.

The length of the bridge is 2,900 feet, 1,500 feet being over water. The overall width is 32 feet, 24 feet being roadway between curbs. On both sides there is a walk for pedestrian use. The channel span is about 90 feet above lake level, affording clearance for navigation purposes equal to that prescribed for bridge structures on the Great

Lakes. To secure this clearance it was necessary for each approach to the middle span to have a gradient of five and a half per cent. The principal piers rest on bed rock at a depth of about 100 feet. The roadway, except the middle span, is on top of the supporting steel structure, affording to the motorist an unobstructed view of Vermont and New York scenery for many miles around.

The cost of the bridge was approximately a million dollars, of which New York paid 60 per cent and Vermont 40 per cent. It is to be a toll bridge until all financial obligations have been met, after which it becomes free to the public. It is estimated this will take twenty years, from date of dedication.

II. ROUSES POINT-ALBURG BRIDGE

A second bridge, in process of construction, connects Rouses Point, New York, with Alburg, Vermont, somewhat less than a mile below the Canadian border. Its length from shore line to shore line is a little over a mile, 1,784 feet being over water. The maximum depth for the standard low water of the lake to the hard bottom supporting the tips of the foundation piles is 55 feet. For purposes of navigation the bridge has a swing draw span with an overall length of 320 feet. The vertical clearance at the draw span, with the draw closed, is 22 feet 6 inches at low water in the lake, and in the side spans varies to 11 feet. This clearance at the draw span permits Barge Canal traffic to pass under the bridge at practically any water level without the necessity of opening the span, which will take care of the greater portion of water borne traffic. The horizontal clearance when the span is open is 125 feet. The draw span provides a fender pier 330 feet long, to which boats may be tied for Customs inspection. This

avoids the inconvenience of entering the dock at Rouses Point, a shoal making entrance somewhat difficult. The greatest depth under the bridge is about 20 feet at standard low water.

Much of the stone used in this bridge was taken from the nearby Fort Montgomery. The cost of the bridge is estimated at $805,000, 45 per cent of which is a gift from the Federal government, the balance being borne jointly by New York and Vermont. It is to be a toll bridge until the revenues have become sufficient to provide for costs of construction and maintenance, after which it is to be a free highway. Being an interstate project it is managed jointly by the States of New York and Vermont. The construction will be completed in the spring of 1937.

III. SWANTON-ALBURG BRIDGE

A third bridge, now under construction, to cross that part of the lake known as Missisquoi Bay, will connect East Alburg and West Swanton, seven miles west of Swanton village. This together with the Rouses Point-Alburg bridge will reduce the travelling distance from Swanton to Rouses Point to fourteen miles. The present distance by way of Canada is forty miles and by way of Sandbar bridge seventy miles. This circumstance did much to stimulate interest in the bridge project.

The total length from shore line to shore line, including earthwork approaches, is 4,290 feet, 558 feet being over water. The pier foundations vary from twenty to forty feet under water. At the draw span there is a horizontal clearance of 45 feet, and under all spans at low water a vertical clearance of about 18 feet, which offers a free course to the greater part of commercial traffic without the inconvenience of opening the draw span. The width is

26 feet, with an 18 foot roadway, flanked on either side by walks for pedestrian use.

This is wholly a Vermont project. The estimated cost is $514,000, the Federal government providing 40 per cent of the sum. Bonds sold to the public to the amount of $200,000 at four per cent and a second mortgage taken by the State provided the balance. It is to be a toll bridge, but it is expected that in twenty years it will become a free bridge. The date of opening is the summer of 1937.

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